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Rammohun Mission Series.—No. 1.

TUHFAT=UL=MUWAHHIDIN

(A Gift to Mono-theists)

BY

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

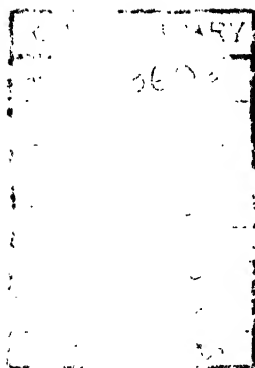
Translated into English from the original Persian
with illustrations.

*A short life of the author, a critical study of his works by
Dr. Brojendranath Seal, and a summary of the book.*

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FOREWORD

BY MR. D. N. PAL.

The idea of bringing out an up-to-date and critical edition of all the works of Raja Rammohun Roy came into my mind when I was acting as an Honorary Secretary of the Rammohun Library and Free Reading Room, Calcutta, in the years 1914-16 and my esteemed friend, the late Mr. Bepin Behary Ghosh M.A. B.L., a sincere and devoted admirer of the great man, helped me materially in the accomplishment of the noble object. Though I have often doubted whether the time for a proper appreciation of Rammohun Roy and his works, has arrived, yet some unknown force impelled my heart to make persistent efforts, towards the realisation of my idea. In the year 1914, I undertook the publication of the new edition of the 'Last Days in England' of Raja Rammohun Roy and from the year 1916, I have been most intimately connected with the construction of a suitable memorial of Raja Rammohun Roy at his birthplace at Radhanagar and as Honorary Secretary of this important work, I found ample opportunities of discussing the question of the publication of the works of Raja Rammohun Roy with the co-operation of our distinguished countryman Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal M.A. Ph.D. and my sincere friend, the late Mr. Ajit Kumar Chakravarty. Both Dr. Seal and Mr. Chakravarty gladly came forward to help me in my humble endeavours to bring out a critical edition of the life and works of the Raja. Owing to the sudden

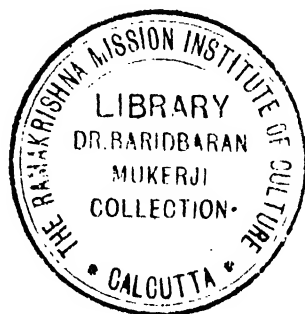
death of my friend Mr. Chakravarty I had to give up this idea for the time being, but fortunately later on, we secured the active co-operation of Mr. Protul Ch. Some (Editor, Indian Messenger), Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar M.A., I.E.S., and Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal, Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, but for whose assistance it would have been impossible to bring out the present volume. *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin* is chronologically the first among the Raja's publications. My best thanks are due to Professor Sarkar for his having thoroughly revised and partly re-written the Persian translation of this work into English. Dr. Seal has kindly written for us an interesting paper on the "Critical Study and Estimate of Rammohun Roy's Works" and we respectfully invite the attention of our readers to this important and original criticism. We also included in this book another chapter on "How to study Rammohun Roy" written by one of our most thoughtful writers. The two chapters on the "Date of the Tuhfat" and "Make and Texture of the Tuhfat" will certainly be read with considerable amount of interest by those of our countrymen who like to follow the trend of the Raja's mind through all its stages.

I may here mention that great difficulty was experienced by me in completing this volume owing to various unfavourable circumstances through which I had to pass. The delay in publishing this edition of the *Tuhfat* is due to causes over which I had no control. As Secretary of the Rammohun Birthplace Memorial Society, under whose auspices this work was originally undertaken and should have been published

now, I have been again experiencing unsurmountable difficulties thrown in my way by some unsympathetic persons and consequently I was much handicapped.

The present financial condition of the Society is far from satisfactory, and it is not at all possible for them to undertake any venture of this description. Messrs S. K. Lahiri & Co., (the well-known publishing house of Calcutta), who kindly undertook to act as printers, have been continually pressing me for the payment of their dues which have been long outstanding. Hence, the whole financial responsibility has been taken over by me as the founder of the Pal Memorial Trust and Rammohun Mission which will henceforth undertake the publication of the various other books and tracts as a part of an independent propaganda work which was contemplated by the Rammohun Birthplace Memorial Society. It is my earnest wish to shortly publish an exhaustive Life of the Raja in English. This is one of the greatest wants at the present moment.

D. N. PAL.



A CRITICAL STUDY AND ESTIMATE OF RAMMOHUN ROY'S WORKS

BY

DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., PH.D.

A.—Formative Influences—Sources and Origin.

As a general introduction to a critical study and estimate of the Raja's works, I may note that his intellectual ancestry must be sought in four different representative cultures of the world's history.

1. The whole body of Hindu culture and civilisation with the pre-eminent exception of the primitive stage of Nature worship as represented in the Samhita portions of the Vedas.

2. The various schools and sects of Arabic Philosophy and Theology,—Aristotle's logical moulds and forms of thought in which were cast the materials of the Koran and Shariyat—especially the heterodox sects, among whom may be mentioned the Mutazalas, the Sufis, the Muwahidism, and, perhaps, also the masonic body of the Sincere Brethren, the 'Encyclopædists' of the 10th century.

3. The eighteenth century movement of Rationalism represented by the English Deists and Free Thinkers, the sceptics Hume and Gibbon, the French Encyclopædists, and especially the religious sect of the French Theophilanthropists associated with the names of Voltaire and Volney—movements ultimately traceable through Locke's philosophy to Bacon's

protest against authority and the Baconian method of Induction.

4. Lastly, Christian Theology and Philosophy, Old as well as New Testament culture—in the entire range of its historic origin and development.

B.—The two Rammohun Roys.

At the outset, I would sound a note of warning against the indiscriminate use of the rich but heterogeneous materials presented in the Raja's works. For a right understanding and estimate of the Raja's thought and utterance, it is necessary to bear in mind the two essentially distinct but equally indispensable parts which the Raja played on the historic stage. There was Raja Rammohun Roy the Cosmopolite, the Rationalist Thinker, the Representative Man with a universal outlook on human civilization and its historic march; a Brahmin of the Brahmins, a hierophant moralising from the commanding height of some Eiffel Tower on the far-seen vistas and outstretched prospects of the world's civilisation, Jeremy Bentham's admired and dearly loved collaborator in the service of mankind; the peer of the Humes, the Gibbons, the Voltaires, the Volneys, the Diderots or any Freethinker or Rationalist of them all. For him, all idols were broken and the parent of illusions, Authority, had been hacked to pieces. He, the Cosmopolite, was daunted by no speculative doubts, discouraged by no craven fears. For him, the veil of Isis was torn; the Temple had been rent in twain and the Holy of Holies lay bare to his gaze! For he had had his disillusionment, was indeed a thorough *roué*

of the *monde* (or *demi-monde*) intellectual. Calmly, fearlessly, truthfully, he probed, fathomed, dissected. And by deep meditation and brooding he had won a glimpse of the Truth.

But there was another and equally characteristic part played by the Raja—the part of the Nationalist Reformer, the constructive practical social legislator,—the Renovator of National Scriptures and Revelations. For the Raja was cast in Nature's regal mould. His was the work of half a dozen giants. His name was Legion. Hindu Pandit, Zabur-dasht Moulavie, Christian Padre, the Rishi of a new Manwantara or Yuga, the Imam or Mahdi of a new Tradition, the Prophet or Nabi of a newer Dispensation—by what name shall I call this man ?

C.—Various Aspects of the Raja's Work.

Yes, the Raja carried on single-handed the work of Nationalist Reform and Scripture Renovation and Interpretation for three such different cultures and civilisations as the Hindu, the Christian and the Mahomedan. Unfortunately the *Manezaratul Adiyān* and other Arabic and Persian works in which the Raja developed his scheme of Moslem religious or socio-religious restoration are lost. But his later writings dealing with the Hindu and Christian Scriptures remain, and are an endless mine of the most precious material to the student of comparative Religion, Sociology and Ethnology.

The Raja's work falls under the following heads—

I. Raja Rammohun Roy—the Cosmopolite, Ratio-

nalist, Universalist, standing aloof from ethnic, national, historic limitations and embodiments.

Under this head I note the following divisions :—

(1) As a Rationalist, Deist, Theophilanthropist, Universalist.

This is the predominant element of the Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin stage of the Raja's mental history, and an element which, however, subsequently enriched, embodied and clothed in particularities, throughout remained at the bottom of all the Raja's deepest and most characteristic thought.

(2) As a Sociologist—with special reference to Politics, Jurisprudence, Ethics, Economics, and Education, (both pure and applied, theoretical and practical).

(3) As the founder, in a very real sense of the term, of the Science of Comparative Religion, and the classification and development of Religion.

To this Cosmopolitan or Universalistic department of the Raja's work belongs the founding of the Brahmo Samaj, which by its trust-deed was to be a meeting-house of the worshippers of the one God, whether members of Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian or other communities. The Raja's Samaj was a meeting-house, a congregation of worshippers, but had no direct social significance whatever.

II. Raja Rammohun Roy, the Practitioner, the Religious and Social Reformer—the Nationalist reforming national scriptures and national customs on national lines, by the methods of liberal interpretation, historic restoration and renovation, and the reconciliation of Authority with Reason and social well-being.

Under this head will come :—

(1) The Raja as a Hindu Reformer, religious as well as social ; a Restorer of Hindu Scriptural Truth and Revelation.

(2) The Raja as a Christian Reformer, the Interpreter and Reformer of Christian Scriptural Truth and Revelation.

D.—Classification of the Raja's Works.

I. The Raja's works written from the Cosmopolitan or Universalist or Rationalist point of view :—

Prarthanapatra, Brahmopasana, Trust-Deed, Brahma-Sangit, English prefaces to the English Translations of the *Upanishads*, Preface to the *Precepts of Jesus*.

"Answer of a Hindu etc." "Letter on the Prospects of a Unitarian Christian Mission," "Tuhfatul Muwahbiddin" (early stage).

"Letter on Education," "Petitions in connection with the liberty of the Press."

The Raja's "Communications to the Board of Control," "Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females etc.," the Essay on the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal.

II. Raja's works as a Religious Reformer and Scripture-restorer.

1. The Raja's works touching Hindu religious or socio-religious matters.

These may be brought under the following heads :—

(a) The Raja's real and rational views put in a Hindu garb (*e. g.* Shāstric authorities alluded to in *Brahmopasana*, Prefaces to the Bengali translations of the *Upanishads*, etc.) Defence of Hindu Theism, Parts I & II.

(b) What the Raja really thought was the meaning of the pure and original Hindu Scriptures (the work of restoration and renovation). Here the Raja took his stand on the *Upanishads* (Vedas) and the *Vedānta Sūtras* (authoritative redaction of the Vedas) as Hindu Scripture or Revelation, *e. g.*, *Vedāntasar*, *Vedānta-Bhāṣya*, *Upanishads*, *Vajra-Sūchi*, etc.

N. B.—Here the Raja, taking his stand on the Hindu Scriptures, accepts the infallibility of the Vedas, the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*Advaitabāda*), of *Māya*, of metempsychosis, of Karma and also for purposes of reconstruction, the outer myths and paraphernalia of Vedantism. He, however, interprets these doctrines in a fruitful and suggestive way, or makes them non-essential matters. It must be remembered that the Raja philosophically accepted the doctrines of *Advaitavāda*, *Mayavāda* and possibly also of Re-incarnation, (though this is made non-essential). These doctrines were so interpreted as to make them consistent with the rational and ethical basis of Religion and Society.

(c) Controversies and discussions with Hindu sectarians such as Vaishnavas, Saktas, &c.

Also the Raja's propaganda of Hindu socio-religious reform, *e. g.*, *Chari-Prasāner Uttar*, *Pathya-Pradan*, *Goswāmīr-Sahit-Vichar*, *Kavitakarār-Sahit-Vichar*, etc., (conducted in Bengali) also *Sati-dahavī-sayak-Pravandha* (English as well as Bengali.)

Here the Raja's rationalism is apparently at its weakest. For, not only the Vedas, but also the

Smritis, Puranas and Tantras are employed as sacred authorities by the Raja quite in accordance with the Hindu canons of scriptural interpretation. While express Hindu doctrines such as Avatar (Incarnation and Partial Incarnation) are recognised and sacred authors admitted for the well-known Puranas, &c., the Raja interprets them all so as to make them compatible with the purest rationalism. For example, incarnation is shown by Shastric authorities to be inapplicable to God, but only to the created and perishable gods and goddesses; and belief in the existence of the latter as higher degrees of finite beings is deprived of all religious or spiritual significance and thus reduced to harmlessness. A Handbook of Hinduism, according to the Raja, giving the substance of his redactions of all Hindu scriptures (including Puranas and Tantras), his proofs and authorities, and his interpretations, would prove extremely useful in the present age, and may be prepared on the basis of works of this and the preceding class (*b* and *c*).

(*d*) Works defending Hindu Scriptures and their teachings from Christian (Missionary) attack, *e.g.* *Brahmanical Magazine*, Letters of Ram Doss.

Here the Raja attempts a rational exposition and harmony (*Samanvaya*) of the Hindu philosophical systems, and turns the table skilfully against orthodox (Missionary) Christianity. These works stand next to (*a*) in point of rationalism and freedom of judgment.

2. The Raja's works touching the Christian Religion.

- (a) *The Raja's views in a Christian garb, i. e. invested with the authority of the Christian scriptures, e. g., Precepts of Jesus.*
- (b) & (c) What the Raja thought was really the meaning of the original Christian Scriptures (the work of Christian Restoration and Interpretation); also his controversies with the Missionaries.

This work of Christian Restoration has borne fruit in helping forward the movement of Unitarian Christianity, so much so that the Raja holds a high and honoured place with Price, Priestley, and Channing in the history of that movement.

Here the Raja, accepting the infallibility of the Bible, has to admit miracles including Resurrection, Mediatorship and Saviourship of Christ, his supremacy over all creatures, his pronouncing final doom or judgment, &c. He, however, seeks to disprove from the Bible the Divinity or dual nature of Christ, and the Trinity of the Godhead; and also the doctrines of Vicarious Atonement and Imputation. The miracles are ignored as non-religious and the Mediatorship and Saviourship explained in such a way as to become comparatively harmless from the rationalist's point of view, and as compatible with the latter as possible.

(e. g. *The Three Appeals to the Christian Public, The Missionary and Chinese Converts, etc.* the latter, a masterpiece of satire quite worthy of Voltaire at his best.)

The Raja was no doctrinaire. He had a wholesome historical instinct, a love of concrete embodi-

ments and institutions, such as characterise the born religious and social reformer. A rationalist and universalist in every pulse of his being, he was no believer in the cult of the worship of Reason, of naked Logical Abstractions. The universal guiding principle of the love of God and Man he sought and found in the Scriptures of the nations, and rose from the barren religion of Nature or Theophilanthropy of his eighteenth century predecessors to a liberal interpretation and acceptance of the Historic Revelation and Scriptures, not indeed in any supernatural sense but as embodiments of the collective sense of races of mankind, and as conserving and focussing that principle of Authority, which, in this mundane state, is an indispensable cement and foundation, an elementary factor of communal life, whether in the social, the political or the religious sphere.

"I have often lamented," says the Raja, "that in our general researches into theological truth, we are subjected to the conflict of many obstacles. When we look to the traditions of ancient nations, we often find them at variance with each other; and when discouraged by this circumstance, we appeal to reason as a surer guide, we soon find how incompetent it is, alone, to conduct us to the object of our pursuit. We often find that, instead of facilitating our endeavours or clearing up our perplexities, it only serves to generate an universal doubt, incompatible with principles on which our comfort and happiness mainly depend. The best method, perhaps, is, neither to give ourselves up exclusively to the guidance of the one or the other; but by a proper use

of the lights furnished by both, endeavour to improve our intellectual and moral faculties”

This has the ring of the “large utterance of the early gods,” and in its sanity, its balance, its nice mental equipoise, is beyond the reach of the Voltaires and Volneys of the world. This rationalistic Raja has verily been the founder and father of the nineteenth century conception of the Scriptures which discards supernaturalism and miracle-monging, and yet retains and reassures for the race those precious treasures, those storehouses of moral and spiritual force, and of living Authority. The Raja’s method of interpretation was at once a ‘Novum Organum’ applied to the scriptures of the world, and a sure instinct anticipating the historic and evolutionary method of modern sociology. The essential and vital principles held in solution in the Hindu and Christian cultures and civilizations precipitated themselves, and the spirit of reason and universalism was breathed into those ancient bodies for giving them an immortality of youth and fresh national vigour.

IN MEMORIAM.

“Nay, in every epoch of the world, the great event, the parent of all others, is it not,” asks Carlyle, “the arrival of a Thinker in the world !” Yes, the appearance of a master mind on the stage marks the beginning of a new order of things. It heralds the coming of other important events in its train. The great event, namely, the arrival of a Thinker, is only the promise, the fulfilment comes later on. The Thinker may come and go like a flash of lightning. But in that flash lies the earnest of many a shower to come. The epoch-maker is often a riddle to his contemporaries. He is hardly understood in his own times. He has often to leave his field of work before he can say : “Let me, O Lord, now depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy cause prosper.” Persecuted, reviled and treated as a traitor to society, he departs from the world, deriving what comfort he may, from his faith in the ultimate triumph of truth. Little does he know at the time that phoenix-like others will arise out of his ashes to take up the forlorn cause and to carry it forward. If we look into the era that has dawned upon the country with the life and labours of the illustrious Raja Rammohun Roy, we find, history repeating itself. It was only a distant hope that cheered the Raja in his lonely toils, in his single-handed endeavours after the betterment of his benighted country. “By taking,” says he in his *Introduction to the Abridgment of the*

Vedanta, "the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahman, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends upon the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear, trusting that a day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice—perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived of this consolation; my motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly."

That day is come and his prophecy fulfilled. By the new race of Indians their debts to the father of the Indian Renaissance are freely acknowledged, particularly in the anniversary meetings held all over the country on the 27th of September. The awakened Indian finds to his surprise that almost all the problems of modern Indian life occurred to the great man who came to show him the way. Not a mere religious reformer was he, though religion occupied the foremost place in his thought and activities. He took life as a whole, and not by compartments. And this distinguishes him from any mediæval saint born in modern times. If any conception of religion is needed at present in this country, which is slowly emerging from mediævalism into modern life, it is the all-round conception of religion enunciated by the Raja. Even those who do not see eye to eye with him in matters religious find his programme of reform suited to, and comprehensive of, modern Indian conditions. Advocates of social reform or of political regeneration

look in vain for a better guide in their particular spheres of activity. The lines laid down by the great patriot-reformer turn out, even after the lapse of a century, almost the only lines to be followed. The recognition of the great thinker and reformer by his country was bound to come. And it has come. The children's children of those who threatened to take his life are now looking up to him for light and guidance.

While on earth he was a living light-fountain which it was good and profitable to be near. Even now, when no mortal eyes can see him, no mortal ears can hear him, he has been guiding the steps of his countrymen. Nay, to his country and people he is more acceptable in resurrection than in life. The good shepherd's voice is not still in death but is reverberating in our ears and claiming our closest attention. But a man of Rammohun's originality and comprehensiveness stands towering above us like a majestic oak, more an object of wondering admiration than of sober apprehension. His height is not to be lightly scanned, his depth easily fathomed. He is an inexhaustible study.

HOW TO STUDY RAMMOHUN.

In studying master minds like Plato and Aristotle the first requisite is a full and accurate list of their authentic and extant writings arranged in a chronological order. This is done with a view to tracing their mental history or the development of their ideas. The same has to be done in the case of the Raja. The chief difficulties that lie in the way of the students of Plato and Aristotle are experienced in determining the authenticity and the date of composition of their works. Except in regard to the date of the *Tuhfatul Muwahhidin* these difficulties do not occur in the case of Rammohun. This Persian treatise is generally held to be his earliest publication written about 1804 A. D. while the Raja was residing at Murshidabad. But Dr. Brajendranath Seal thinks that it could not have been written before 1810, when Rammohun was serving under Mr. Digby at Rungpur and had access to Locke and Hume through the medium of English. Apart from this difficulty of date there is no question of authenticity about it.

Among the other works of the Raja, however, some were published in the name of his friends and disciples and that for the obvious reason that the reformer would not take on himself the full responsibility of the views expressed in them. The real difficulty here is that of interpretation, in other words, how to find the Raja's real mind in matters of creed and belief. For this purpose a classification of his works is of primary

importance. Then there are his letters or extracts from his letters. But extracts from Rammohun's correspondence are second in evidential value to the Raja's published writings, first, being without context and secondly, being adapted to the private opinions and sentiments of the person addressed. Next, the well established acts of the Raja are of importance in the determination of his views. After all these, must come the reports recorded of him, what others have written about him from personal knowledge or what amounts to it. We have to remember the fact that the Raja is found at one and the same time pursuing different series of ideas. Having risen to the height of Universal Religion, Rammohun took upon himself the complicated task of interpreting Hinduism to Hindus, Christianity to Christians, and Islam to Moslems. And the work of interpretation proceeded simultaneously. Here lies the root of the greater complexity that we experience in the case of Rammohun than in that of Plato or Aristotle. The student of Rammohun must be prepared for all this industry, if he would arrive at the basic ideas of Rammohun's thought and life.

The Raja's mental development can be clearly traced in the succession of his literary works as well as of his practical activities as a reformer. From an iconoclastic zeal and fervour in the spirit of the purest rationalism he proceeded to the open revolt of Jacobinism, the protest of the individual against the accumulated tradition of the Church and the Schools. But this was followed by a movement of affirmation, which was, however, at the outset only speculative in character. He reached certain positions regarding the

आत्मन्, जगत्, and ब्रह्मन्,—the soul, the world, and the absolute, but he did not stop there. He found the support of the Vedānta (Brahma Sūtra) for those positions, and this gradually weaned him from his rationalistic individualism, the more so as he found a similar support of the rule of the moral reason in the precepts of the Christian scriptures. He was thus led to seek the reconciliation of individual reason with scriptural authority. But the next stage of his life and activities was even more important in its influence on his mental history. He became a doughty champion of social reform, whether in the domain of food and drink, of customary taboos, of rites and ceremonials or matters affecting the status of women in social life ; and this constructive activity changed his intellectual as well as ethical outlook. He now saw the deep foundations of social customs and morals as conserved or consolidated by the Śāstras of a race, and henceforth he sought to pursue the work of a nationalist (and ethnio) social reformer side by side with his survey of the progress of man in Universal History. He studied the great monotheistic cults of the Vedānta, the Koran and the Bible, in the light of the dogmas and doctrines which were the moulds or vehicles of the characteristic race-consciousness which have ruled the world ; and he diligently explored the juristic, ethical and customary developments of these cults along their own proper lines of tradition and historic continuity. But behind and beyond these, he saw the workings of Universal Man in history, and of this faith and vision he was the prophet and precursor. This gave him the secret of reconciliation and harmony not merely of reason with

authority, of individual freedom with custom and tradition, but also of cult with cult, of race with race, of the East with the West, and of both with God in the world, God in Nation and History alike. His educational, juristic, economic and social reform, as well as his political ideal, and finally his religious constructions in later life, were all the outcome of this changed mood, which had enriched his mind and soul with the blood of Humanity and made him the epitome of Mankind.

INTRODUCTION.

THE DATE OF THE TUHFAT.

Among the works of Raja Rammohun Roy *Tuhfatul Muwahhidin* (Gift to the Monotheists) occupies a very important place. It is written in Persian with a preface in Arabic. The only other book so written which we know by name is *Manazaratul Adyan* (a discussion on various religions), though the book has not come down to us. The rationalism of the Raja, without which Rammohun would not have been the cosmopolite and universalist that he was, free from ethnic, national and historic embodiments and limitation, stands out prominently in the *Tuhfat*. The Raja is ununderstandable without his rationalism. No doubt, the rationalism of the *Tuhfat* stage was modified later on, but it never wholly left him. Strangely enough the impression persists that the *Tuhfat* is a production of an immature mind, which it certainly is not. This impression is responsible for the *Tuhfat* being regarded as a very early and juvenile publication of the Raja.

The first edition, with the year of its publication given, cannot now be found. So we are driven to speculate about the approximate date which can be reasonably assigned to the treatise in the light of both external and internal evidence. Those who take the book to be a juvenile production think that Rammohun referred to this work in 1820 in his first

Appeal to the Christian Public in the following words :

“He is safe in ascribing the collection of these precepts to Rammohun Roy, who, although he was born a Brahman, not only renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life, but published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian against that system ; and no sooner acquired a tolerable knowledge of English, than he made his desertion of idol worship known to the Christian world by his English publication—a renunciation that, I am sorry to say, brought severe difficulties upon him by exciting the displeasure of his parents, &c.”

The English publication here referred to is in their opinion the translation of an abridgment of the Vedanta, published in 1816. They argue that if 1774 is accepted as the year of his birth Rammohun was 46 years in 1820, 28 in 1802, 29 in 1803, 36 in 1810 and 39 in 1813 [if 1772 be allowed as the year of his birth, all these years must be raised by two]. He might at the age of 46 (or 48) have said that when he was 28 and 29 (or 30 and 31), he was at a very early period of his life. But he could under no circumstances have so describe his age in the 36th or the 39th year (or in the 38th or the 41st year). If the treatise is placed earlier than 1802, it would better agree with the language of the passage quoted above. But it does not seem at all possible to put the date of the treatise at 1810 or 1813.

The fallacy of the argument lies in thinking that the Arabico-Persian book to which the Raja refers

in his first Appeal is no other than the *Tuhfat*. It is a mistake to confound the *Tuhfat* with the simple anti-idolatry pamphlet which was the occasion for the young Rammohun, then about 16, being turned out of home by his irate father. The reference can never be to the *Tuhfat*. We have Rammohun's own statement on the following points :

(1) That he renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life.

(2) That he published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian against that system.

(3) That he acquired a tolerable knowledge of English after the publication of this treatise.

When did Rammohun renounce idolatry ? Was it at the age of 15 or 16 or at the age of 28 and 29 (or 30 and 31) ? William Adam wrote of Rammohun in 1826 : "He seems to have been religiously disposed from his early youth, having proposed to seclude himself from the world as a Sannyasi or devotee at the age of fourteen, from which he was only dissuaded by the entreaties of his mother." Thus the religious crisis in Rammohun's life came when he was in his teens. Next we have Rammohun's own statement in his evidence in the Burdwan law-suit that far from inheriting the property of his deceased father he had during his father's life-time separated from him and the rest of the family in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions, which did not permit their living together. His father Ram Kanta Roy died in 1803. So the altered habits of life and change of opinions, or, in other words, renouncement of idolatry by Rammohun

must have taken place long before the year 1803, the year of his father's death. This leads us to conclude that the book referred to by Rammohun was published by him long before that year. For on the authority of Mr. Adam we know that after separating from his father Rammohun was obliged to reside for ten or twelve years at Benares far away from all his friends and relatives, who lived on the family estate at Burdwan in Bengal.

We have seen that the anti-idolatry pamphlet in Arabic and Persian was written by Rammohun long before 1803. Rammohun says in the passage already quoted: "Rammohun Roy ; who, although he was born a Brahman not only renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life, but published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian against that system ; and no sooner acquired a tolerable knowledge of English than he made his desertion of idol worship known to the Christian world by his English publication—a renunciation that, I am sorry to say, brought severe difficulties upon him by exciting the displeasure of his parents," &c. The parenthetical sentence attached to the passage establishes beyond doubt that the anti-idolatry pamphlet was published during the life-time of Rammohun's father.

Miss Collet writes, "Relieved from the fear of paining his father, Rammohun soon began to make his heresies known to the world. He removed to Murshidabad, the old Moghul Capital of Bengal, and there he published his first work, a treatise in Persian (with an Arabic preface), entitled *Tuhfatul*

Muwahiddin or Gift to Monotheists. This was a bold protest against the idolatrous element in all established religions."

If we take Murshidabad to be the place where the *Tuhfat* was written, it is not probable that it was written during the time (1803-4) Miss Collet assigns to it. It might be that immediately after his retirement the Raja spent some time at the declining Moghul Capital. For Miss Collet writes, "I conclude that it must have been in one of these (either the *Tuhfat* or the *Manazara*) that Rammohun made some rather sarcastic remarks on Mahomet to which reference is made by several of his biographers as having excited an amount of anger against him among the Mahomedans which was the chief cause of his removing to Calcutta." In Mr. Leonard's History of the Brahmo Samaj (p. 27) these sarcastic remarks are said to occur in the *Tuhfat* but certainly no such passage is to be found there. From the fact of his removing to Calcutta it is safer to conclude that this removal took place in 1814. For we know nothing of Rammohun ever residing in Calcutta during 1804 or 1805. Besides, Murshidabad is not the only place, associated with Rammohun's publication of Persian treatises. Babu Nagendrauath Chatterjee writes on the authority of *Jnananjana* (reprinted in 1838), the book written by Gauri Kanta Bhattacharya, Rammohun's opponent at Rungpur, that the Raja wrote Persian pamphlets there as also translated portions of the Vedanta into Bengali. Whether Rungpur or Murshidabad be the place where the *Tuhfat* was published, it is certain that it is not the anti-idolatry

pamphlet, alluded to by the Raja in his *First Appeal to the Christian Public*.

Rammohun's pamphlet was against idolatry, evidently against Hindu idolatry. No academic discussion of the idolatrous element in all established religions such as we find in the *Tuhfat*, would have given the offence that it did. Moreover, the *Tuhfat* is more directly concerned with prophetism, revelation, priest-craft and miracles than with idolatry. Whatever else the *Tuhfat* may be, it is certainly not the anti-idolatry pamphlet, referred to in his *First Appeal to the Christian Public*.

Leonard in his *History of the Brahmo Samaj* says that the early pamphlet (according to him in Bengali) was composed at the age of fifteen and the *Tuhfat* thirteen years later. That the early pamphlet was in Persian and Arabic has already been proved. In what is known as the autobiographical letter, whatever may be its value as an authentic document, it is said that the Raja wrote the pamphlet "when about the age of sixteen." If we follow Leonard in his calculation, the *Tuhfat* was composed at the age of 28 or 29. From the autobiographical letter we know that Rammohun first began to associate with Europeans after being recalled home at the age of twenty. Rammohun was twenty-two when he first began to learn English. Not pursuing it with application, after five years, *i.e.*, at the age of 27, when Mr. Digby first met him, he could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse, but could not write it with any degree of correctness. This meeting of

Rammohun and Digby took place between the years 1799 and 1801. Mr. Digby was Register at Ramgarh from 1805 to 1808, Register at Bhagalpur in 1808-9 and Collector at Rungpur from 1809 to 1814. Rammohun mentions his having resided at Ramgarh, Bhagalpur and Rungpur in his evidence in the Burdwan law-suit. We may safely take him to be serving under Digby in the year 1805. Mr. Digby says: "By pursuing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy." From this it is plain that he learnt English while serving under Digby. He was employed as Dewan at Rungpur where Digby was Collector from 1809 to 1814. By the time he was Dewan we may take it that he had acquired a tolerable knowledge of English.

If the *Tuhfat* was written after his having acquired a knowledge of the English tongue, it must bear the stamp of his acquaintance with English Authors. If it does, it was certainly not written before his Rungpur days.

As to the distinct influence of Western thought and culture on the *Tuhfat*, it should be noted that though the form and the tone of the treatise is given by the distinctive personality and temperament of Rammohun it is not without materials pressed into service from Locke and Hume. The rationalistic note, uttered in the *Tuhfat*, is neither Sanskritic nor Arabic, but Western. The Mimāṃsakas and the

Matazalas in their rationalistic treatment of revelation proceed on grounds essentially different from those, advanced by the Raja in this treatise which are unmistakably derived from the rationalist thinkers of the 18th Century in Europe.

The signal difference between the *Tuhfatul* type of rationalism and the old-world rationalism of the Matazalas and some of the Mimansakas lies in the predominantly psychological and sociological emphasis of the former and the predominantly speculative bias of the latter. The Raja of the *Tuhfatul* as a true intellectual descendant of the Humanity of the Renaissance and the Freethinkers of the Illumination sought the origin of error in psychological sources like self-interest, customary association and personal bias or predilection, or again in the trend of social opinion, of inherited tradition and social usages or early inculcation and training. Bacon, Locke, Hume, Helvetius, and Voltaire had exploited the sources of error in the natural workings of the human mind or in the constitution of human society and had fought against the idols of the race and the cave, of the theatre and the schools with weapons of subtle psychological analysis, edged with keen satire and mordant irony and the writer of the *Tuhfatul* was indeed the last of that band of doughty champions of truth.

The following passage for instance reminds us of the Raja's acquaintance with Locke :—

The fact is this, that each individual on account of the constant hearing of the wonderful and impossible stories of his

by-gone religious heroes and praise of the good effects of the dogmatic creed of that nation among whom he has been born and brought up, from his relatives and neighbours during the time of boyhood when his faculties were most susceptible of receiving impressions of the ideas conveyed to him, acquires such a firm belief in the dogmas of his religion that he cannot renounce his adopted faith, although most of its doctrines be obviously nonsensical and absurd. He prefers that faith to all others and continues always to observe its rites and ceremonies and thereby he becomes daily more firmly attached to it; hence it is evident that a man having adopted one particular religion with such firmness, his sound mind after reaching the age of maturity with acquired knowledge of books, without being inclined to make enquiries into the truth of the admitted propositions of so many years, is insufficient to discover the real truth. (Pp. 2-3.)

The influence of Hume and the Encyclopædists is discernible in the following :—

As the foundation of the permanence of (all) religions is based on belief in the existence of the soul (which is defined to be a substance governing the body) and on the existence of the next world, (which is held to be the place for receiving compensation for the good and evil deeds done in this world, after the separation of the soul from the body), they (mankind) are to be excused for admitting and teaching the doctrine of the existence of the soul and the next world (although the real existence of the soul and the next world is hidden and mysterious) for the sake of the welfare of the people (society), as they simply, for fear of punishment in the next world and the penalties inflicted by the worldly authorities, refrain from the commission of illegal deeds. (P. 5.)

In the passage that follows Locke and the Rationalists are in evidence :—

Holiness to God! (*i.e.*, it is strange to say) that notwithstanding these ardent enthusiasms on the part of the *mujtahids* or doctors of religion, there is always an innate faculty existing in the nature of mankind that if any person of sound mind, before or after assuming the doctrines of any religion, makes an enquiry into the nature of the principles of religious doctrines, primary or secondary, laid down by different nations, without partiality and with a sense of justice, there is a strong hope that he will be able to distinguish truth from untruth and the true propositions from the fallacious ones, and also he, becoming free from the useless restraints of religion, which sometimes become sources of prejudice of one against another and causes of physical and mental troubles will turn to the One Being who is the fountain of the harmonious organization of the universe, and will pay attention to the good of society. (Pp. 5-6.)

The passage, we next quote, also bespeaks the Raja's acquaintance with Locke :—

These persons do not make any distinction between the beliefs which are the results of special teaching and custom and those creeds that originate in the intuitive (*lit.* summary) belief in the existence of the Source of Creation, which is an indispensable characteristic of man. ...(P. 8.)

Hume on miracles could not have been unknown to Rammohun when he wrote :—

The utmost which we can say on this matter is that in some instances, notwithstanding one possessing keen and penetrative sagacity, the cause of some wonderful things remains unknown to some people. In such cases we ought to have recourse to our own *intuition* and put to it the following query : *viz.*, whether it is more compatible with reason to be convinced of our own inability to understand the cause or to attribute it to some impossible agency inconsistent with the law of

nature? I think our intuition will prefer the first. Moreover, what necessity is there, that we should believe in these things which are inconsistent with rational conclusion (*qias*) and have not been observed personally; for instance, raising the dead, ascending to heaven, &c., which are said to have occurred many hundreds of years ago? (P. 10.)

The following must be traced to a careful study of Locke's *Conduct of the Human Understanding* by the Raja :—

It is to be wondered at, that although people in worldly transactions without knowing the connection of one thing with another do not believe that the one is the cause and the other the effect, yet when there is the influence of religion and faith, they do not hesitate to call one the cause and the other the effect, notwithstanding the fact that there is no connection or sequence between the two. (Pp. 10-11.)

The Raja says in the *Tuhfat* that, in short, the individuals of mankind, regarded as those who are deceivers and those who are deluded and those who are not either, belong to four classes. This fourfold classification is evidently conceived in the spirit of Voltaire and Volney.

In laying down canons of historical criticism Rammohun observes :—

Notwithstanding this, whenever any doubtful discrepancy arises in the history of any by-gone kings in the matter of descent or genealogy, the reports about them are set aside or thrown away from reliance. For instance, the traditions about Alexander the Great's conquering China and his birth are mutually contradictory as given by the historians of Greece and Persia, therefore, they are not to be believed with certainty. (P. 16.)

Whether we take into consideration the rationalism of the Raja, which is of a different type from that of the *Charvakas* or *Zindiqs*, or his acquaintance with the western historians, we come to the irresistible conclusion that he had come under the influence of western rationalists and Encyclopædists before writing the *Tuhfat*. His acquaintance with the English tongue could never have been such till at least 1810 as would enable him to have access to Locke, Hume, Gibbon, Newton and others whom we find referred to in the Raja's later works. The Raja settled in Calcutta in 1814 and it is here that the *Tuhfat* stage of the Raja's rationalism is found undergoing modification. In a letter, dated 1816, Mr. Yates writes, "I was introduced to him (Rammohun) about a year ago; before this, he was not acquainted with anyone who cared for his soul. Sometime after I introduced Austace Carey to him and we have had repeated conversations with him. When I first knew him, he would talk only on metaphysical subjects, such as the eternity of matter, the nature and qualities of evidence, &c., but he has lately become much more humble and disposed to converse about the Gospel."

Thus the last echoes of his Rungpur rationalism were heard in Calcutta even in 1815. We can now without hesitation place the date of the *Tuhfat* between 1810 and 1813. The Raja was then in the full vigour of his mind and had access to the 18th Century rationalism of the West. It is wrong to suppose with Miss Collet that "The treatise is important as the earliest available expression of his mind and as showing his eagerness to bear witness against

established error ; but it is too immature to be worth reproducing as a whole." Far from being immature it was written in the maturity of the Raja's manhood. That the views were later on modified does not mean that the production was an immature one. The scant praise of Miss Collet was due to her not being able to enter into the meaning and significance of the matter of the treatise, whose manner (as seen in a literal and defective translation) repelled her and led her to a wrong conclusion.

MAKE AND TEXTURE OF THE TUHFAT.

Raja Rammohun Roy's *Tuhfat-ul-muwahiddin* is a work of rare distinction in Indo-Persian literature. Apart from its advocacy of pure rationalism uninfluenced by dogmas, conventions or prejudices, and its rejection of the inspired priests, prophets and infallible guides of all revealed religions,—it has a high literary value. The close texture of its reasoning, its avoidance of all digressions, its ruthless rejection of the aid of popular stories as illustrations, the terseness and lucidity of its language, and the strictly logical sequence of its arguments,—all make it stand apart from the polemic literature produced in Persian or Sanskrit by our old or indigenous scholars. The *style* at once marks the *Tuhfat* out as the work of a writer familiar with European literary methods and the writings of European controversialists like Locke and Voltaire.

At the same time, our author shows his ingenuity by resorting every now and then to literary devices which, by reason of their familiarity, are sure to appeal to Oriental readers of the old school,—such as, apt quotations from the *Quran*, familiar verses from Hafiz, and the very epithets applied to the founder of Islam by pious believers. He thus disarms their natural hostility to a preacher of brand-new or foreign doctrines and carries them with himself to the end of his treatises.

Such a book could have been produced only by a mature intellect familiar with the polemic literature

of the East and the West alike, and not by a hot-headed young iconoclast.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE TUHFAT.

Universal and Particular in Human Belief.

Men are generally agreed as to the existence of a Supreme Being, 'the Author and the Governor of the universe.' When they come to details they differ. Attributes ascribed to that Being by the followers of one religion seldom agree with those given by the adherents of another. They are divided in their ideas of God, in the creeds they have accepted, in the doctrines they have elaborated, in the prescriptions and prohibitions (*Haram* and *Halal*) they have followed.

From all this, Rammohun concludes that whereas there are such wide differences in men's ideas of God, in their creeds, in their doctrines, in their notions of *Haram* and *Halal*, they must be all artificial products due to training and habit. The universal assent of man as to the existence of a Supreme Being does not fall under this category. With man faith in God is natural. He believes, not because he is trained to do so, but because he is so constituted that he in his sound mind cannot do without believing.

Claims of Religions Considered.

Belief in a Supreme Being may be common to all men, but the religious structures built on that common foundation are many and varied. Can all these religions be true? The Raja answers, certainly

not. For they often represent ideas of God widely differing from one another, and teach doctrines diametrically opposite. What is enjoined in one is prohibited in another. Both, the Raja says, cannot be true, if the principle of non-contradiction is a test of truth. Applying the terms of Arabic Logic, he declares the absurdity of the proposition that all religions are true at one and the same time. Even when it is established that all religions cannot at one and the same time be true, it may be contended that a certain religion may be true and the rest false. The objection does not escape the Raja who at once demands sufficient reason for giving preference to a particular religion. The principle of sufficient reason had long been an accepted canon in Arabic Logic. It was through Leibnitz that it found its way into European Logic in the Seventeenth Century. This principle of sufficient reason has proved a very useful canon in scientific investigation. The Raja's mind, cast in the Arabic logical mould, sees through the fallacy of the objection and rejects it as not satisfying the condition of the principle of sufficient reason.

Are all religions in the world false, then?

The Raja says, when it cannot be admitted that all religions are true, and also any one of them is particularly true, it must be concluded that every one of them is false. It may be contended here that what follows from the Raja's argument is, not that every religion is false, but that no religion is proved to be true. When men of a particular sect assert the truth of their own religion and the falsity of those of the

others, they say something wholly unwarranted by reason.

How to Search after Truth ?

For an unbiassed inquiry into the truth or falsity of the principles which differentiate one religion from another, it is necessary (1) to comprehend the real nature of things created for different purposes and (2) to know the ranks (values) of different acts whose effects, though latent at the time, will surely manifest themselves. Both are the essential parts of human perfection.

What Stands in the Way of Men's Inquiring into Truth ?

Men as 'rational beings, it may be hoped, will be found inclined to inquire into truth. But in point of fact they are far otherwise. What is it that makes them averse to an inquiry into truth? According to the Raja, men do not search after truth, (1) because leaders of different religions, actuated by love of praise and honour, have invented several dogmas of faith, (2) they pretend to have worked miracles and put them forward as proof of the validity of their declarations, (3) they have contrived to gain numerous adherents, (4) these unfortunate people, deprived of their reason and conscience by an unquestioning adherence to their leaders, become habituated to think such abominable crimes as murder, usurpation and torture as acts of great virtue, (5) they read myths and legends full of imposs-

ibilities to find their faith in the past religious leaders and the present expounders strengthened, (6) they consider their salvation depends on their firm faith in their spiritual leaders and is not affected by telling lies, and committing breach of trust, theft, adultery, etc. which are heinous crimes in reference to the future life and are injurious in their effect on society, (7) they look upon all inclinations to make inquiries into the truth of their creed as resulting from the temptation of Satan, (8) accustomed to hear wonderful and impossible things they acquire such firm belief in the dogmas of their creed, most of whose doctrines are obviously nonsensical and absurd, that they think some stones or plants or animals to be the real objects of their worship, and (9) in opposing those who may attempt to destroy those objects of their worship or to insult them, they think shedding the blood of others or sacrificing their own lives an object of glory in this world and a cause of salvation in the next.

Society and Religion.

The question next discussed is the sociological basis of religion. The Raja was surely familiar with the famous theory of social contract which, in accounting for the origin of law and usage, he accepted in a slightly modified form. But he rejected it altogether as incompetent to explain the origin of society. Society, he held, was no artificial product, and could never be the outcome of a concert attained at a particular time. In the *Tuhfat Rammohun* is quite explicit as regards the fact that men are by

nature social beings. Their social instincts make it necessary for them to live together and to keep one another's company. Thus men must be always thought of as members of society, as living, moving and having their being in society. What are the primary conditions of this social life? First, language as a medium of expression and communication of ideas; secondly, law and usage defining individual property and safeguarding the individual's interests and person from aggression; thirdly, some fundamental religious beliefs; such as belief in the soul apart from the body, in future life, and in reward and punishment to be meted out in that life.

It may be naturally asked why the Raja does not here say that a belief in God is among the constituents of society. The reply is, this belief in God is involved in the belief in future reward and punishment. It is not necessary to refer to the Source of Creation and His perfection in speaking of what constitutes society. The social life of man has necessarily expressed itself in (1) language, (2) law and custom, (3) religion. Thus religion is one of the constituents of society; it is sociological in its nature. Viewed in this light it is society that includes and involves religion, not religion that includes society.

According to Rammohun men cannot do without believing in the soul and in the next world (though their real existence is a mystery and hidden from them). These are all that men are called upon to believe. Men have never gone beyond what are thus indispensable without doing harm to that very social life which religious beliefs are intended to

foster. The Raja says that to the belief in these two indispensable doctrines, hundreds of useless hardships and privations regarding eating and drinking, purity and impurity, auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, &c. have been added, to the injury and detriment of social life,—not to its betterment.

What does the Raja mean by saying that “the real existence of the soul and the next world is hidden and mysterious”? He means that we can only postulate the existence of the soul and the next world without possessing any definite knowledge of what they are in themselves. In the opinion of the Raja even the popular notions of the soul, future life, heaven and hell have not been without their use to society, for the fear of punishment in the next world no less than in this has helped to deter the illiterate vulgar from the commission of illegal deeds.

Investigation of Truth.

There is, says Rammohun, an innate faculty in man by virtue of which any person of sound mind making an honest and impartial inquiry into the nature of the principles of religious doctrines, primary or secondary, laid down by different nations, can legitimately hope to be able to distinguish truth from untruth and the true propositions from the fallacious ones and also to arrive at the belief in the one Being who is the source and origin of the harmonious organisation of the universe and to devote himself to the good of society.

Revealed Religion as opposed to Natural Religion.

The Raja in the *Tuhfat* recognises no historic revealed religion. God is no respecter of persons or races. It is quite evident that all men equally enjoy the external blessings of nature and no less equally do they suffer from inconvenience and pain, the fact of their being followers of a particular religion having nothing to do in the matter. As in the external world, so in the inner world of reason and conscience, law holds good, leaving no room for special intervention or dispensation. Hence the Raja argues that it cannot be maintained that all men have been created to observe the tenets of a particular religion, the followers of other religions being made liable to punishment.

The Twofold Belief.

Rammohun holds that each individual member of mankind has an innate faculty in him by which he can infer that there exists a Being who (with His wisdom) governs the whole universe. Independently of instruction or guidance, simply by keen insight into and deep observation of the mysteries of the universe, each individual arrives at this belief. But men are seldom found to confine themselves to this radical and legitimate belief. They go a step further in believing what is current in the society in which they have been brought up. Every individual belonging to a particular group professes belief in the existence of a particular Divinity (with particular attributes ascribed to Him) and adopts the peculiar tenets of the creed he is found to follow. Some

believe in a God with human attributes like anger, mercy, hatred and love, others in a Being comprehending and extending all over nature, a few are inclined towards atheism or are found to hold Time or Nature to be the creative principle of the universe; some others give divine attributes to created beings and make them objects of worship. These persons do not make any distinction between the beliefs which are the results of special teaching and custom and those creeds that originate in the intuitive belief in the existence of the Source of Creation, which is an indispensable characteristic of man. Under the influence of habit and custom and incognisant of the connection between cause and effect, they believe that bathing in a river or worshipping a tree or becoming a monk and purchasing forgiveness of their sins from the high-priests, etc., may be the cause of salvation and purification from the sins of a whole lifetime. And they think that this purification is the effect of the objects adored by them and the miracles of their priests, and not the result of their own belief and fancy, while these things do not produce any effect on those men who do not agree with them in those beliefs. Had there been any real effect in these imaginary things, it must have been common to all peoples of different persuasions. For although the strength of an effect varies according to the different capacities of the persons subject to it, yet it is not dependent upon the belief of a particular believer.

Miracles.

In the *Tuhfat* Rammohun has rejected miracles altogether. The very idea of supernatural acts or miracles is to him a pure and simple invention of the interested founders of religions. Miracles are ascribed to them in order to attribute the origin of particular religions to themselves and to increase the belief of the common people in them. After explaining how the idea of miracles originated he gives his arguments in refutation of miracles :

I. (a) Taking his stand on Inductive Reason the Raja says that in this world where things are related to one another by the sequent relation of cause and effect, the existence of every thing depends upon a certain cause and condition, so that if we take into consideration the remote causes, we may say that in the existence of any one thing in nature the whole universe is concerned.

(b) The Raja is fully alive to the fact that there are many things, for instance, many wonderful inventions of the people of Europe and dexterous feats of jugglers, whose causes are not easily known and seem to baffle human comprehension. But the difficulty of the thing ought to be no reason for intelligent people jumping to the conclusion that the method of inductive reasoning has no scope here. Through the exercise of keen insight, or as a result of instructions from others, the causes which appeared at first unknowable can be satisfactorily known.

(c) The utmost that can be said on this matter is that the causes of some wonderful things remain

unknown to some people notwithstanding their possessing keen and penetrative sagacity. In such cases the Raja would ask people to have recourse to their own *intuition* which, he was sure, would make it clear to them that it was more compatible with reason to be convinced of their own inability to find out the cause than to attribute it to some impossible agency inconsistent with the law of nature.

(d) Moreover, the Raja sees no necessity for people believing in things which are inconsistent with rational conclusion (*qias*) and have not been observed personally; for instance, raising the dead, ascending to heaven, &c., which are said to have occurred many hundreds of years ago.

(e) The Raja wonders that people, who in ordinary transactions of life are so very particular about knowing the connection of one thing with another should be found not to hesitate at all to call one the cause and the other the effect, notwithstanding the fact that there is no connection or sequence between the two; for instance, the removal of a calamity by the effect of certain prayers or getting recovery from disease by the effect of certain charms, amulets, &c.

II. Religious leaders, with a view to the satisfaction of their followers, sometimes explain that in matters pertaining to religion and faith reason and its arguments have nothing to do; matters religious depend on faith and Divine help. The Raja, in reply, says that it is not for rational men to believe in a matter which has no proof and which is inconsistent with reason.

III. (a) They sometimes argue that it is not impossible for the power of that Omnipotent Creator, who has from perfect non-entity brought into existence the whole universe, to bring about things inconsistent with the law of nature.

(b) But this argument does not prove anything but the possibility of the occurrence of such things, while they have to prove the actual occurrence of the miracles of their ancient religious leaders and modern *mujtahids*.

(c) Any one in attempting to prove impossible and inconceivable things might have recourse to such a proposition during the debate ; so there would be no difference between the ideas of (امكان) *possible* and (امتناع) *impossible* and consequently the whole foundation of composing syllogism and logical demonstration would fall to the ground.

(d) The Creator Himself has no power to create impossible things, such as شرك co-partnership with God, the non-existence of God, or اجتماع النقيضين the existence of two contradictories, &c.

Proofs from Tradition.

The Raja next discusses what is known in Hindu theology as *sabda-praman* or proofs from authenticated traditions.

(a) The doctors of different persuasions, relying on the faith of their followers, have made the idea of

Tawatur (traditions proved by a continuous chain of reports) a means of proving such things. There is a deal of difference between the true idea of a *Tawatur* which produces positive belief and a *Tawatur* assumed by the followers of religions.

If it is said that the truth of the statement of the first class of people who reported the miracles of their leaders as eye-witnesses, is to be proved by the statements of the next class who were their contemporaries and so for proving the truth of the statement of the next or second class, the evidence of the third class (who were their contemporaries) must be added ; because the truth of the statements of the second class also wants a proof, and likewise for the truth of the statements of the third class the evidence of the fourth class ought to be added, so on till it would reach the people who live in the present time, and so this chain or series of evidence will come down gradually to posterity. It is clear that men of sound mind will hesitate to reckon that class of people who co-exist with them, to be perfectly truthful people to whom falsehood cannot be imputed, especially in matters of religion.

(b) According to the followers of religions *Tawatur* is a report coming down from a certain class of people to whom falsehood cannot be imputed. The Raja says whether such a class of people existed in ancient times is not known to the people of the present time through the medium of external senses or experience.

Proof of Historical Events.

The Raja lays down the following canons of historical criticism with a view to distinguishing the true *Tawatur* from the false one :

(a) That a *Tawatur* in the sense of receiving a report acceptable to reason from persons whose statement is not contradicted by anyone is useful in giving rise to positive belief. But this sort of *Tawatur* is quite different from discrepant reports contrary to reason. Thus the validity of the proof of an historical event depends (1) on the testimony of an eye-witness who has not been contradicted, (2) on the event narrated being not contrary to human experience or, in other words, against the law of nature.

(b) The doctors of religions are found to say :
 “ How are those persons who believe in the narratives regarding the ancient kings owing to their being inserted in history and received by *Tawatur* or succession of traditions, to be justified in rejecting the facts relating to the supernatural works performed by the leaders of religions which are mentioned in ancient books and are proved by *Tawatur* or traditions of nations, from time to time ? ”

(c) The Raja says in reply, the narratives regarding the by-gone kings, for instance, the accession of a certain king to the throne and his fighting with certain enemies, &c., are such facts as were then reliable and unanimously agreed upon ; while the narratives of those supernatural works are contradictory and are most wonderful,

(d) Besides the descent or genealogy and narratives of the by-gone kings are probabilities ظنيات and the beliefs regarding the articles of faith of a certain religion, according to the principles of that religion, are certain or positive propositions; so the one cannot bear an analogy to the other with this material difference.

(e) Whenever any doubtful discrepancy arises in the history of any by-gone kings in the matter of descent or genealogy the reports about them are set aside or thrown away from reliance. For instance, the traditions about Alexander the Great's conquering China and his birth are mutually contradictory as given by the historians of Greece and Persia; therefore they are not to be believed with certainty.

(f) The doctors of religions are also found to say: "How can those who in spite of the real fact (of their paternity) being hidden from them, believe in particular descent or births only from the general report of *Tawatur*?" The Raja's reply is plain. The birth of individuals of any species of animal from their parents is a visible thing, but the birth of children without parents is outside our experience and contrary to reason.

Mediatorship.

Rammohun in the *Tuhfat* rejects mediatorship altogether. That the Almighty Creator has opened the way of guidance to mortal beings through the medium of prophets or leaders of religion is considered by him an untenable position. He gives his reasons :

(a) Those who hold that the way of guidance to men lies through prophets believe, at the same time, that the existence of all things in creation, whether good or bad, is connected with the Great Creator without any intermediate agency and that the secondary causes are all the mediums and conditions of their existence.

(b) It is to be seen whether the sending of prophets and revelation to them from God are done immediately by God or through an intermediate agency. In the first supposition, there is no necessity for an intermediate agency for guidance or salvation and there does not seem any necessity for the instrumentality of prophets or revelation.

(c) And in the second case, there would be a series of intermediate agencies which would not conclude to any end, that is, there will be the occasion for eternal regress.

(d) The advents of prophets and revelation, like other things in nature, depend upon external causes without any reference to God. Prophets, &c., are not particularly missioned for instruction in invented creeds.

(e) Besides what one race calls a guide to a true faith another calls a misleading to a path of error.

Are All Religions Sent of God ?

(a) Then the question arises "Are all religions sent of God?" To meet it, some of the followers of religions argue in this way that discrepancies ought to be understood to be of the same nature as those that are found in the laws of ancient and modern

rulers of the world ; that the modern rulers often repeal the laws framed by the former ones, according to a different state of society. So all these forms of religion also were framed by God, according to different states of society in different times, and one has been repealed or superseded by another according to His will.

(b) The Raja's reply to this argument is that the rule or government of the true God bears no analogy to the rule or government of imperfect human beings who are incapable of understanding the end of every action and are found acting from mixed motives. Then the analogy here advanced is an analogy between two things which differ in essential qualities. How can it be accepted in the face of the fact that the Brahmins have a tradition that they have strict orders from God to observe certain ceremonies and hold their faith for ever, while the followers of Islam, on the other hand, quote authority from God that killing idolators and persecuting them in every case are obligatory ? Now, are these contradictory precepts or orders consistent with the wisdom and mercy of the great, generous and disinterested Creator, or are these the fabrications of the followers of religions ?

(c) One party on the authority of their scripture say that the prophetic mission has been closed with their leader ; and another party claim that the prophetic mission is to end in the generation of David according to the authority of God. And these two sayings are in fact *أخبار* reports or foretellings, and not *أحكام* precepts of law that they may be subject to repeal. Because in holding one to be true the

falsehood of the other must follow, while the probability of **تعريف** (*change*) or perversion is equally applicable to both.

(d) It is not strange that (in by-gone days) some ambitious persons in order to obtain the honour of becoming leaders of the people at large or making themselves objects of reverence of the people should have made themselves subject to hardships and dangers at the time.

Other Arguments.

In considering the other arguments of the doctors of different religions the Raja observes that each of them says that his religion which gives informations about future reward or punishment after death must be either true or false. In the second case, *i. e.*, if it be false and there be no future reward or punishment, there is no harm in believing it to be true, while in the first case, *i. e.*, its being true, there is a great danger for the unbelievers.

(a) The Raja says, the above saying contains fallacies in two ways. First, their saying that in the second case there is no harm in believing it to be true, is not to be admitted. Because putting faith in the existence of such things as are remote from reason and repugnant to experience is not in the power of a sensible man.

(b) Secondly, in the case of having faith in such things, it may become the source of various mischiefs and troubles and immoral practices, bigotry, deceit, &c.

(c) In case we assume this argument to be true, from this the truth of all forms of religion can be

proved. Hence there will be a great perplexity for a man who must believe all religions to be true or adopt one and reject the others. But as the first alternative is impossible, consequently the second one must be assumed. And in this case he has again recourse to inquiry into the truth or falsehood of various religions. And this is the chief object of my discourse.

II. Another argument which finds favour with the doctors of different religions is that we should follow the ceremonies and creeds which were adopted by our forefathers, without any inquiry into their truth or falsehood.

(a) In pointing out the fallacy of this argument, Rammohun says that it is equally applicable, first, to those persons who having been founders of some (new) religions attracted the people to themselves; and secondly, to those who after receiving the doctrines of their leaders, have deviated from the old way of their forefathers. The fact is that renouncing one religion and adopting another is one of the habits of mankind.

(b) Besides, the fact of God's endowing each individual of mankind with intellectual faculties and sense, implies that he should exercise his own intellectual power with the help of acquired knowledge, to discriminate between good and bad, that this valuable Divine gift should not be left unused.

III. The followers of different religions seeing the paucity of the number of the believers in one God in the world boast that they are on the side of the majority.

(a) To refute this *argumentum ad hominem*, the Raja says that the truth of a saying does not depend upon the multiplicity of the sayers. Truth is to be followed even against the majority of the people.

(b) Moreover, in the beginning of every religion there were very few supporters of it : *viz.*, its founder and a few sincere followers of him.

The Positive Side of the Tuhfat.

Towards the end of the treatise we find some very interesting observations which enable us to understand the positive side of the Raja's religious attitude in this early rationalistic stage of his mental development. Three distinct phases are prominent : (1) the exercise of man's intellectual faculty in discriminating truth from error ; this is the rationalistic attitude of mind ; (2) the exercise of the intuitive faculty of discriminating good from evil ; with this is connected what the Raja calls the natural inspiration from God which he opposes to invented revelation ; and (3) the union of hearts with mutual love and affection of all fellow-creatures, which is, according to the Raja, a pure devotion acceptable to God and nature. This may also be called the religion of a freethinker and is summed up in a verse of Hafiz : "Be not after the injury of any being and do whatever you please. For in our way there is no sin except injuring others." It may be noted that the religion of a freethinker as thus described runs parallel in its main lines with the Neo-theophilanthropy of

Voltaire and Volney. (Vide Volney's Religion of Nature.)

Men Classified.

The Raja in the *Tuhfat* divides the individuals of mankind into four classes :

Firstly—A class of deceivers who in order to attract the people to themselves wilfully invent doctrines of creeds and faith and put the people to trouble and cause disunion amongst them.

Secondly—A class of deluded people, who without inquiring into the facts, adhere to others.

Thirdly—A class of people who are deceivers and also deceived ; they are those who having themselves faith in the sayings of another induce others to adhere to his doctrines.

Fourthly—Those who by the help of Almighty God are neither deceivers nor deceived.

PREFACE BY THE PRESIDENT,
ADI BRAHMO SAMAJ.

The *Tuhfatul Murahhiddin* of Raja Rammohun Roy is the index to a certain stage in the history of his mind. It marks the period when he had just emerged from the idolatry of his age but had not yet risen to the sublime Theism and Theistic Worship first proclaimed in the Trust-Deed of the Adi Brahmo Samaj. Every production of the Raja must possess the highest interest to the Brahmos of India and the Theists and liberal thinkers of other countries. I, therefore, requested my old and much respected learned friend, Moulvie Obaidullah El Obaide, to translate it into English. He has kindly and zealously complied with my request in spite of the no ordinary difficulties of the task. The best thanks of the Brahmo Community are due to him for its accomplishment. An English translation of the work was a desideratum long felt by that community.

DEOGHUR, }
25th August, 1884. }

RAJNARAIN BOSE.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The following is a literal English translation of *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin* or "the Gift to the Believers in one God,"—a small pamphlet in Persian, by the late Raja Rammohun Roy, on the doctrine of Deism. It has been undertaken at the request of my old and esteemed friend Babu Rajnarain Bose, the President of the Adi Brahma Samaj, in order to put it within the reach of English-knowing people, who have not a sufficient knowledge of Persian to understand the original work, which, although a small one, is written in an abstruse style and is full of Arabic logical and philosophical terms, so that it was not an easy task to render it into intelligible English.

The difficulty of the task and how far I have done justice to the original may be seen by any Anglo-Persian scholar on reference to the original. The fact of the book being written in an abstruse oriental style, is a reasonable excuse for the translation not being in elegant modern English. The work was undertaken in the midst of the bustle of my official and private business, and therefore it is hoped that the generous public will take a lenient view of any shortcoming that they may find in the translation.

DACCA,)
The 1st September, 1883.)

OBAlDULLAH EL OBAIDE,
The Translator.

[N. B. The translation has been thoroughly revised and partly re-written by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, April 1920.]

INTRODUCTION.

(IN ARABIC.)

I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands, and I found the inhabitants thereof agreeing generally in believing in the existence of one Being, who is the source of creation and the governor of it, and disagreeing in giving peculiar attributes to that Being and in holding different creeds consisting of the doctrines of religion and precepts about what is *Hárám* (forbidden) and *Hálál* (legal). By induction from this it has been known to me that turning generally towards One Eternal Being, is like a natural tendency in human beings and is common to all individuals of mankind equally. And the inclination of each sect of mankind to a particular God or gods, holding certain especial attributes, and to some peculiar forms of worship or devotion is an excrescent quality grown (in mankind) by custom and training. What a vast difference is there between nature and custom ! Some of these sectaries are ready to confute the creeds of others owing to a disagreement with them, believing in the truth of the sayings of their (ancient) predecessors ; while those predecessors also like other men were liable to commit sins and mistakes. Hence, all those sectaries (in claiming the truth of their own religions) are either true or false. In the former case, the two contradictories come together اجتماع النقيضين (which is logically inadmissible) and in the latter case, either falsehood

is to be imputed to a certain religion in particular or to all in common; in the first case *Tarjih bila Murajjeh* ترجيح بلا مرجع *i. e.* giving preference without there being any reason for it (which is logically inadmissible) follows. Hence falsehood is common to all religions without distinction. I have explained this (my opinion) in Persian, as it is more intelligible to the people of Ajam, (*i. e.* Non-Arabians).

GIFT TO THE BELIEVERS IN ONE GOD.

(IN PERSIAN.)

Happy is the time of those persons who are determined to discriminate between the conditions which are found in individuals owing to custom and frequent association, and those intrinsic qualities which are the results of the cravings of nature in species and individuals, and try their utmost to make an enquiry into the truth and falsehood of the different principles of religion held by different people, unbiassed in favour of any one, and scrutinize even those propositions which are admitted by all without paying any attention to the position of those persons by whom they have been asserted. Because to comprehend the real nature of things created for different purposes and to know the ranks of different acts whose effects are latent (both of which are the essential parts of human perfection) are in themselves extremely difficult. Nevertheless, most of the leaders of different religions, for the sake of perpetuating their names and gaining honour, having invented several dogmas of faith, have declared them in the form of truth by pretending some supernatural acts or by the force of their tongues, or the contrivance of some measure suitable to the circumstances of their contemporaries, and thereby have made a multitude of people adhere to them, so that those poor people having totally given up their sight and conscience bind themselves to submit to their leaders and think it to be a sin to make distinction between a real virtue and an actual

sin in carrying out the injunctions of their religious leaders. Out of regard for their religion and faith, they think such acts as murder, usurpation and torturing others, although they be of the same species and offspring of the same parents, acts of great virtue. And having an impression that a firm belief (*lit.* pure faith) in the persons of their spiritual leaders, notwithstanding the commission of the most abominable deeds such as telling lies, breach of trust, theft, adultery, &c.,—which are heinous crimes in reference to the future life as well as mischievous to society (*lit.* public),—is the cause of salvation from sins, they always devote their valuable time to reading myths and legends which are full of *impossibilities* مستبعد العقل and which tend to strengthen (*lit.* increase) this faith in their past religious leaders as well as in their present religious *expounders* مجتهدان. If, by chance, any of them possessing a sound mind and reason, has an inclination to make enquiries about the truth of his adopted creed, he, again, according to the habit of the followers of religions, thinks this inclination to be a result of Satanic temptation, and taking it to be a cause of destruction to him in this world as well as in the next, he immediately recants from it. The fact is this, that each individual on account of the constant hearing of the wonderful and impossible stories of his by-gone religious heroes and praise of the good effects of the dogmatic creed of that nation among whom he has been born and brought up, from his relatives and neighbours during the time of boyhood when his faculties were most susceptible of receiving impressions of the ideas

conveyed to him, acquires such a firm belief in the dogmas of his religion that he cannot renounce his adopted faith although most of its doctrines be obviously nonsensical and absurd. He prefers that faith to all others and continues always to observe its rites and ceremonies and thereby he becomes daily more firmly attached to it; hence it is evident that a man having adopted one particular religion with such firmness, his sound mind after reaching the age of maturity with acquired knowledge of books, without being inclined to make enquiries into the truth of the admitted propositions of so many years, is insufficient to discover the real truth. Rather, that very man sometimes in hope of attaining the honour of being (regarded as) a *Mujtahid* or religious expounder, becomes anxious to invent new arguments founded on so-called reason and tradition by the help of his own knowledge and intellect, in order to give strength to the doctrines of his faith. The *Muqallids* or common people following that religion by blind imitation, who are always anxious at heart to give preference to their faith over other religions according to the proverb that "A Hoon (cry) is sufficient for (exciting) a mad fellow," making those fallacious arguments the grounds of their disputation, boast of their own religion, and point out the faults of the religions of others. If by chance sometimes any one through want of prudence questions any principle of faith of his own religion, his co religionists in the case of their having the power, make over that inexperienced fellow to the tongue (point) of the spear (*i. e.* kill him), and in the case of their having no such opportunity make

him over to the spear of the tongue (*i. e.*, overload him with reproaches and slander). The influence of these leaders over their followers and their submission to them have reached such a degree that some people having a firm belief in the sayings of their leaders, think some stones and plants or animals to be the real objects of their worship; and, in opposing those who may attempt to destroy those objects of their worship or to insult them, they think shedding the blood of others or sacrificing their own lives an object of glory in this world, and a cause of salvation in the next. It is more strange that their *Mujtahids* or religious expounders also, after the examples of the leaders of other religions, laying aside justice and honesty, try to invent passages in the form of reasonable arguments in support of those articles of faith which are manifestly nonsensical and absurd, and thereby try to give strength to the faith of the common people who are wanting in insight and discretion.

نَعُوْذُ بِاللّٰهِ مِنْ شَرِّ رِئَاسَاتِنَا وَمِنْ سَيِّئَاتِ اَعْمَالِنَا

"We seek the protection of God from the evil temptations of our passions and from our evil deeds."

Although it is an undeniable fact that the social instincts of mankind make it necessary that the individual members of this species should live and dwell together permanently, yet,—as society depends upon individuals expressing and understanding the ideas of each other and on the existence of some rules by which the property of one is defined and distinguished from that of another and one is

prevented from exercising oppression over another,—so all the races inhabiting different countries, even the inhabitants of far off islands and the summits of lofty mountains, have coined words to indicate certain ideas, and invented religions upon which the organization of society depends. As the foundation of the permanence of (all) religions is based on belief in the existence of the soul (which is defined to be a substance governing the body) and on the existence of the next world, (which is held to be the place for receiving compensation for the good and evil deeds done in this world, after the separation of the soul from the body), they (mankind) are to be excused for admitting and teaching the doctrine of the existence of the soul and the next world (although the real existence of the soul and the next world is hidden and mysterious) for the sake of the welfare of the people (society), as they simply, for fear of punishment in the next world and the penalties inflicted by the worldly authorities, refrain from the commission of illegal deeds. But to belief in these two indispensable doctrines, hundreds of useless hardships and privations regarding eating and drinking, purity and impurity, auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, &c., have been added, and thus they have become causes of injury and detrimental to social life and sources of trouble and bewilderment to the people, instead of tending to the amelioration of the condition of society.

Holiness to God ! (*i. e.*, it is strange to say) that notwithstanding these ardent enthusiasms on the part of the *Mujtahids* or doctors of religion, there is

always an innate faculty existing in the nature of mankind that if any person of sound mind, before or after assuming the doctrines of any religion, makes an enquiry into the nature of the principles of religious doctrines, primary or secondary, laid down by different nations, without partiality and with a sense of justice, there is a strong hope that he will be able to distinguish truth from untruth and the true propositions from the fallacious ones, and also he, becoming free from the useless restraints of religion, which sometimes become sources of prejudice of one against another and causes of physical and mental troubles, will turn to the One Being who is the fountain of the harmonious organisation of the universe, and will pay attention to the good of society.

من يهدي الله فلا مضل له ر من يضلله فلا هادي له

"Whom God leads (to the right path) there is none to mislead him, and whom He misleads there is no leader for him."

It ought to be noted that the followers of certain religions believe that the true Creator has created mankind for discharging the duties connected with the welfare of the present and future lives by observing the tenets of that particular religion ; and that the followers of other religions, who differ from them in articles of faith, are liable to punishment and torments in the future life. And as each particular class defers the good results of their own acts and the bad results of the practices of the followers of other

religions to the life after death, therefore none of them can refute the dogmas of others in this life ; consequently they sow the seeds of prejudice and disunion in their hearts, instead of sincerity, and condemn each other to the deprivation of eternal blessings ;— though it is quite evident that all of them are living here equally enjoying the external blessings of nature (*lit.* heaven), such as the light of the stars, the pleasures of the season of spring, the fall of rain, health of body, external and internal good, and other enjoyments of life, as well as equally suffering from inconveniences and pain, such as the gloominess of darkness, the severity of cold, mental disease, narrowness of circumstances, and outward and inward evils, without any distinction by reason of their being the followers of a particular religion.

Although each individual member of mankind, without the instruction or guidance of any one, simply by keen insight into, and deep observation of the mysteries of the Universe, such as the different modes ordained for the propagation of the species of different kinds of animals, different seasons for the growth of different plants, the rules of the movements of the planets and stars and endowment of innate affection in animals towards their offsprings for nurturing them without having any hope of return from them in future, and so forth, has an innate faculty in him by which he can infer that there exists a Being Who (with His wisdom) governs the whole universe ; yet it is clear that every one in imitation of the other individuals of the race among whom he has been brought up, professes the existence of a particular

Divinity (with particular attributes ascribed to Him) and adopts certain tenets in following that particular creed. For instance, some of them believe in a God qualified with human attributes like anger, mercy, hatred and love; and others believe in a Being comprehending and extending all over nature; a few are inclined to atheism or thinking the *دهر* *Dahr* (time) or *Nature* as the creative principle of the Universe; and some of them give Divine attributes to large created beings and make them objects of worship. These persons do not make any distinction between the beliefs which are the results of special teaching and custom and those creeds that originate in the intuitive (*lit.* summary) belief in the existence of the Source of Creation, which is an indispensable characteristic of man, so that they, through the influence of habit and custom and blindness to the connection between cause and effect, believe the bathing in a river and worshipping a tree or becoming a monk and purchasing forgiveness of their sins from the high priests, &c., (according to the peculiarities of different religions) to be the cause of salvation and purification from the sins of a whole life time. And they think that this purification is the effect of the objects adored by them and the miracles of their priests, and not the result of their own belief and fancy, while these things do not produce any effect on those men who do not agree with them in those beliefs. Had there been any real effect in these imaginary things, it must have been common to all peoples of different persuasions and should not have been confined to one particular people's belief and habits. For although the

degree of strength of the effect varies according to the different capacities of the persons subject to it, yet it is not dependent upon the belief of a particular believer. Do you not see that if a poison be taken by any one in the belief that it is a sweetmeat, it must produce its effect on the eater and kill him ?

O God, give me strength of mind for making distinction between custom and nature.

The founders of religions have invented the idea of supernatural acts or miracles in order to attribute the origin of a particular religion to themselves and to increase the belief of the common people in them.

It is customary with the common people labouring under fancies that when they see any act or thing done or found, beyond their power of comprehension, or for which they cannot make out any obvious cause, they ascribe it to supernatural power or miracle. The secret lies in this that in this world where things are related to one another by the sequent relation of cause and effect, the existence of every thing depends upon a certain cause and condition, so that if we take into consideration the remote causes, we may say that in the existence of any one thing in nature the whole universe is concerned. But when for want of experience and through the influence of fancies, the cause of a thing remains hidden from any one, another person having found it a good opportunity for achieving his object, ascribes it to his own supernatural power and thereby attracts people to himself. In the present age in India, belief in supernatural and miraculous things has reached such a degree that the people, when they find any wonderful

thing, the origin of which they can ascribe to their by-gone heroes or their present saints, immediately ascribe it to them, and although there must obviously be a cause of it in existence, they ignore it. But it is not hidden from those who have a sound mind and who are lovers of justice, that there are many things, for instance, many wonderful inventions of the people of Europe and the dexterity of jugglers, the causes of which are not obviously known and seem to be beyond the comprehension of the human faculties, but after the exercise of keen insight or the instruction of others those causes can be known satisfactorily. This method of inductive reasoning only may be sufficient to guard intelligent people against being deceived by such supernatural works. The utmost which we can say on this matter is that in some instances, notwithstanding one possessing keen and penetrative sagacity, the cause of some wonderful things remains unknown to some people. In such cases, we ought to have recourse to our own *intuition* and put to it the following query, *viz.*, whether it is more compatible with reason to be convinced of our own inability to understand the cause or to attribute it to some impossible agency inconsistent with the law of nature? I think our intuition will prefer the first. Moreover, what necessity is there, that we should believe in these things which are inconsistent with rational conclusion (*quas*) and have not been observed personally; for instance, raising the dead, ascending to heaven, &c., which are said to have occurred many hundreds of years ago? It is to be wondered at, that although people in worldly transac-

tions without knowing the connection of one thing with another do not believe that the one is the cause and the other the effect, yet when there is the influence of religion and faith, they do not hesitate to call one the cause and the other the effect, notwithstanding the fact that there is no connection or sequence between the two. For instance, the removal of a calamity by the effect of certain prayers or getting recovery from disease by the effect of certain charms, amulets, &c.

When enquiries are made about the mysteries of these things which are so marvellous that *reason* hesitates to believe in their truth, the leaders of religion sometimes explain for the satisfaction of their followers, that in the affairs of religion and faith reason and its arguments have nothing to do, and that the affairs of religion depend upon faith and Divine help. How could a matter which has no proof and which is inconsistent with reason be received and admitted by men of reason ?

فاعتبروا يا اولى الابصار

"Take admonitions from this, O people of insight !"
(*Quran*, ch. 59, ver. 2.)

They sometimes having a profound knowledge (of logic) begin to argue that it is not impossible for the power of that Omnipotent Creator who has brought the whole Universe into existence from perfect nonentity, that He should unite life with the bodies of the dead a second time or should give to earthly bodies the property of light or the power of air to travel to a great distance within a short time. But this

argument does not prove anything but the possibility of the occurrence of such things, while they have to prove the actual occurrence of the miracles of their ancient religious leaders and their modern *Mujtahids*; so it is clear to men of understanding that there is no *Taqarib*† in this argument.

Besides, if their arguments were held to be true, then there would be no way for منع *Muná* or questioning the truth of a premiss in a syllogism, during مناظر *Munazara* or discussion, and the door of rejecting any proposition, whatever it might be, would be entirely closed. Because any one in attempting to prove impossible and inconceivable things might have recourse to such a proposition during the debate; and thus there would be no difference between the ideas of امكان *possible* and امتناع *impossible*, and consequently the whole foundation of composing syllogism and logical demonstration would fall to the ground. Now, it is an admitted fact that the Creator has no power to create impossible things, such as شرک co-partnership with God, the non-existence of God, or اجتماع the existence of two contradictories, etc.

جنگ هفتاد و دو ملت همه را عذر پذیر
چون ندیدند حقیقت را افسانه زدند

The disputes of the seventy two sects are to be excused because they, not finding the truth, have trodden the way of fables or nonsense. [Hafiz, Jarrett's ed., Ghazal No. 222.]*

† *Taqarib* means in Logic the agreement of the conclusion with the *quaesitum* or the proposition to be proved. [Trans]

* There are seventy-two sects among the Muhammadans.

Whereas on account of distance of time the great superhuman powers of the by-gone leaders of different religions are impossible to be proved by knowledge gathered by the external senses, (which, under certain conditions, impart a positive knowledge); therefore the doctors of different persuasions, relying on the faith of their followers, have made the idea of *تواتر* *Tawatur* (traditions proved by a continuous chain of general reports) a means of proving such things. Now, with a little consideration of the true nature of the idea of *تواتر* *Tawatur* which produces positive belief and a *Tawatur* assumed by the followers of religions, the evil of this fallacy can be removed. Because according to the followers of religions *Tawatur* is a report coming down from a certain class of people to whom falsehood cannot be imputed; but whether such a class of people existed in ancient times is not known to the people of the present time through the medium of the external senses or experience; rather it is quite obscure and doubtful. Besides, the great discrepancies in the traditions of the by-gone leaders of each religion indicate the falsehood of their assertion. If it is said that the truth of the statement of the first class of people who reported the miracles of their leaders as eye-witnesses, is to be proved by the statements of the next class who were their contemporaries, and so for proving the truth of the statement of the next or second class, the evidence of the third class (who were their contemporaries) must be added; because the truth of the statements of the second class also wants a proof, and likewise for the truth of the statements of the third class the evidence of the fourth

class ought to be added, and so on till it would reach the people who live in the present time, and so this chain or series of evidence will come down gradually to posterity. It is clear that men of sound mind will hesitate to reckon that class of people who coexist with them, to be a perfectly truthful people to whom falsehood cannot be imputed especially in matters of religion. Besides a great contradiction is found in the affirmation and negation of the prophecy and other good attributes of the leaders of different religions, and these contradictory reports are proved also by *تواتر Tawatur*. Therefore, in taking for granted the truth of the report of each party, there would be *اجتماع تقيضين* (i. e., admitting two contradictory propositions). And giving preference to one report above another without any ground for preference is *ترجيح بلا مرجع* (i. e., giving one proposition preference over another without any reasonable ground), because each party can equally pretend that the statement of their ancestors was true and reliable. The fact is that a *Tawatur* in the sense of receiving a report acceptable to reason from a people whose statement is not contradicted by any one, is useful in giving positive belief. But this sort of *Tawatur* is quite different from the discrepant reports contrary to reason. By this assertion the following arguments (adduced by doctors of religion) are easily refuted. They say, *firstly*, "how are those persons who believe in the narratives regarding the ancient kings owing to their being inserted in history and received by *Tawatur* or succession of traditions, to be justified in

rejecting the facts relating to the supernatural works performed by the leaders of religions, which are mentioned in ancient books and are proved by *Tawatur* or traditions of nations, from time to time ?” And, *secondly*, “how can those who in spite of the difference in colour, shape and manners of the offspring of a person from him, and in spite of the real fact (of their paternity) being hidden from them, believe in particular descent or births only from the general report of *Tawatur*, hesitate to believe in the holiness and the miracles of the ancient *Mujtahids*, which are also transmitted by the same process of *Tawatur* ?” Inasmuch as the narratives regarding the by-gone kings, for instance, the accession of a certain king to the throne and his fighting with certain enemies, &c., are such facts as were then reliable and unanimously agreed upon ; while the narratives of those supernatural works are contradictory and are most wonderful. For instance, the birth of individuals of any species of animals from their parents is a visible thing, but the birth of children without parents is quite contrary to reason.

به بین تفاوت ره از کجا است تا بکجا

“*See what a vast difference there is between one way and the other.*” [Hafiz, Jarrett's ed., Ghazal No. 12.]

Besides, the descent or genealogy and narratives of the by-gone kings are probabilities ظنیات ;— and the beliefs regarding the articles of faith of a certain religion, according to the principles of that religion, are certain or positive proposition ; so

the one cannot bear an analogy to the other with this material difference. Notwithstanding this, whenever any doubtful discrepancy arises in the history of any by-gone kings in the matter of descent or genealogy, the reports about them are set aside or thrown away from reliance. For instance, the traditions about Alexander the Great's conquering China and his birth are mutually contradictory as given by the historians of Greece and Persia, therefore they are not to be believed with certainty.

Some people argue in this way that the Almighty Creator has opened the way of guidance to mortal beings through the medium of prophets or leaders of religion. This is evidently futile, because the same people believe that the existence of all things in creation, whether good or bad, is connected with the Great Creator without any intermediate agency, and that the secondary causes are all the medium and conditions of their existence. Hence it is to be seen whether the sending of prophets and revelation to them from God, are done immediately by God or through an intermediate agency. In the first supposition there is no necessity for an intermediate agency for guidance to salvation, and there does not seem any necessity for the instrumentality of prophets revelation. And in the second case, there would be a series of intermediate agencies which would not conclude to any end. Hence, the advent of prophets or and revelation like other things in nature depend upon external causes without any reference to God, i.e., they depend upon the invention of an inventor. Prophets, &c., are not particularly

missioned for instruction in invented creeds. *Besides*, what one race calls a guide to a true faith, another calls a misleading to a path of error.

Some of the followers of religion argue in this way that the discrepancy between the precepts of different religions does not prove the falsehood of any religion. The discrepancies ought to be understood to be of the same nature as those that are found in the laws of ancient and modern rulers of the world ; that the modern rulers often repeal the laws framed by the former ones, according to a different state of society. So all these forms of religion also were framed by God, according to different states of society in different times, and the one has been repealed or superseded by another according to His will. My reply to this argument is that the rule or government of the true God, who according to the belief of the followers of religions that acquainted with the particular state of every particle, who is Omniscient, to whom past, present and future times are equally known, under whose influence the hearts of mankind can be turned to whatever He wishes, who is the provider of the visible and invisible causes of every thing, who is incapable of having any particular object as His own interest, and who is free from whims, bears no analogy to the rules or government of human beings, whose wisdom is defective and incapable of understanding the end of every action and who are susceptible of errors or mistakes and whose actions are mixed with selfishness, deceit and hypocrisy. Is not this sort of analogy قياس مع الفارق—analogy between

two things which differ in essential qualities ? Besides this, there are many other strong objections to holding the above opinion, for instance, the Brahmins have a tradition that they have strict orders from God to observe certain ceremonies and hold their faith for ever. There are many injunctions about this from the Divine Authority in the Sanskrit language and I, the humblest creature of God, having been born amongst them, have learnt the language and got those injunctions by heart, and this sect (the Brahmins) having confidence in such Divine injunctions cannot give them up, although they have been made subject to many troubles and persecutions and were threatened with death by the followers of Islam. The followers of Islam, on the other hand, according to the purport of the holy verse of the Quran *فاقتلوا المشركين حيث وجدتموهم* (*i. e.*, kill the idolators wherever you find them) and *فشدوا الرثاق فاما منا بعد واما فداء* (*i. e.*, then tie the bonds, *i. e.*, capture the unbelievers in holy war, then either set them free by way of obligation to them or by taking ransom), (*Quran*, ch. 9, ver. 5) ch. 47, ver. 4.) quote authority from God that killing idolators and persecuting them in every case, are obligatory by Divine command. Among those idolators, the Brahmins, according to the Moslem belief, are the grossest idolators. Therefore the followers of Islam always being excited by religious zeal and desirous of carrying out the orders of God, have not failed to do their utmost to kill and persecute the polytheists and unbelievers in the prophetic mission of the Seal of Prophets and the Blessing to the present and future

worlds* (may Divine benediction rest on him and on his disciples). Now, are these contradictory precepts or orders consistent with the wisdom and mercy of the great, generous and disinterested Creator or are these the fabrications of the followers of religion ? I think a sound mind will not hesitate to prefer the latter alternative. Then we should consider, which of these two is proper, i.e., either to attribute these injunctions and precepts to God or to reject these contradictory traditions at once. For instance, one party on the authority of their scripture say that the prophetic mission has been closed with their leader; and another party claim that the prophetic mission is to end in the generation of David according to the authority of God. And these two sayings are in fact, اخبار reports or foretellings and not انشاء or precepts of law, that they may be subject to repeal. Because in holding one to be true the falsehood of the other must follow, while the probability of تعريف (change) or perversion is equally applicable to both. It is strange to say, that after passing hundreds of years from the time of these religious leaders, with whom the prophetic mission is said to have been closed, Nanak and others in India and other countries raised the flag of prophetic mission and made a large concourse of people their followers by inducement and attained to success. Rather the door of realising their own objects in the form of religious instruction (proselytising) is always open to inexperienced and shallow-thinking people. It is daily observed that hundreds of persons in the hope of gaining some honor or a little

profit make themselves subject to various kinds of physical privation and hardship, such as, keeping perpetual fasting or suspending one of the arms motionless or burning the body, &c. (which are seen among the Hindoo ascetics or monks). Hence it is not strange that (in by-gone days) some ambitious persons in order to obtain the honor of becoming leaders of the people at large or making themselves objects of reverence to the people, should have made themselves subject to hardships and dangers at the time.

There is a saying which is often heard from the doctors of different religions and which they quote as an authority for giving strength to their creeds. Each of them says that his religion which gives information about the future reward or punishment after death must be either true or false. In the second case, *i.e.*, if it be false and there be no future reward or punishment, there is no harm in believing it to be true; while in the first case, *i.e.*, its being true, there is a great danger for the unbelievers. The poor people, who follow these expounders of religions, holding this saying of their leaders to be a conclusive argument, are always boasting of it. The fact is that custom and training make the individuals of mankind blind and deaf notwithstanding their having eyes and ears. The above saying contains fallacies in two ways. *Firstly*, their saying that in the second case there is no harm in believing it to be true, is not to be admitted. Because faith in the actual existence of a thing after supposing its existence to be a reality can be obtained by each individual of mankind; but putting faith in the

existence of such things as are remote from reason and repugnant to experience, is not in the power of a sensible man. *Secondly*, in the case of having faith in such things, it may become the source of various mischiefs and troubles and immoral practices owing to gross ignorance and want of experience, *i.e.*, bigotry, deceit, &c. Nevertheless, in case we assume this argument to be true, from this the truth of all forms of religion can be proved ; for the followers of each religion may equally adduce the same argument. Hence there will be a great perplexity for a man who must believe all religions to be true or adopt one and reject the others. But as the first alternative is impossible, consequently the second one must be assumed. And in this case he has again recourse to enquiry into the truth or falsehood of various religions. And this is the chief object of my discourse.

Another argument produced by some of the doctors of religions, is that it is necessary that we should follow the ceremonies and creeds which were adopted by our forefathers, without any inquiry into their truth or falsehood, and to condemn those ceremonies and creeds or deviate from them, leads to disgrace in the present world and to mischiefs in the next ; and that such a conduct is in fact a contempt and insult to our forefathers. This fallacious argument of theirs produces a great effect on the minds of the people who entertain a good opinion and reverence towards their ancestors, and consequently hinders them from making any enquiry into the truth and adopting the right way. The fallacy of this argument may be seen by a little consideration.

For it is equally applicable, first, to those persons who having been founders of some (new) religion attracted the people to themselves; and secondly, to those who after receiving the doctrines of their leaders, have deviated from the old way of their forefathers, and tried to pull down the foundation of their ancestors' creeds. If a man by merely attributing his own inventions to God is to be vindicated from such charges, then this is the easiest way to be adopted. The fact is that renouncing one religion and adopting another, which was common amongst the ancient people, implies that conversion from one religion to another is one of the habits of mankind. Besides, the fact of God's endowing each individual of mankind with intellectual faculties and senses implies that he should not, like other animals, follow the examples of the brethren of his race, but should exercise his own intellectual power with the help of acquired knowledge, to discriminate between good and bad, so that this valuable Divine gift should not be left unused.

The followers of different religions sometimes seeing the paucity of the number of the believers in one God in the world boast that they are on the side of the majority. It is to be seen that the truth of a saying does not depend upon the multiplicity of the sayers, and the non-reliability of a narration cannot arise simply owing to the paucity of the narrators. For it is admitted by the seekers of truth that truth is to be followed even against the majority of the people. Moreover, accepting the proposition, *viz.*, that the paucity of the number of the sayers proves

the invalidity of a saying, as universal, will prove a dangerous blow to all forms of religion. Because in the beginning of every religion there were very few supporters of it, viz., its founder and a few sincere followers of him, who had the same opinions with him, and afterwards so many large books and series of arguments have been written and produced like founding a mountain upon a single grass, viz., on the sayings of those few persons, while having a belief only in one Almighty God is the fundamental principle of every religion. Those who prefer the so-called invented revelation of mankind to the natural inspiration from God—which consists in attending to social life with their own fellow-creatures and having an intuitive faculty of discriminating good from evil—instead of gaining union of hearts with mutual love and affection for all their fellow-creatures without distinction of shape and colour or creed and religion, which is a pure devotion acceptable to God and nature, consider some invented practices and particular bodily motions to be the cause of salvation and receiving bounty from Almighty God. They, in fact, pretend a change in the self of the Deity and think that their physical actions and mental emotions have power to change the state of unchangeable God. By no means can our actions and motions be the cause of appeasing the wrath of God and gaining His forgiveness and favour. A little consideration is enough to overthrow this palpable heresy (*bidat*.)

Verse.

چندین فنون شیخ ز رز به نیم خس
راحت بدل رسان که همین مشرب است و بس

So many hypocritical acts of the Shaikh, i. e., spiritual leader, are not worth a mite ; give comfort to the hearts of people ; this is the only Divine doctrine.

In short, the individuals of mankind regarded as those who are deceivers and those who are deluded and those who are not either, belong to four classes.

Firstly—A class of deceivers who in order to attract the people to themselves wilfully invent doctrines of creeds and faith and put the people to trouble and cause disunion amongst them.

Secondly—A class of deluded people, who without inquiring into the facts, adhere to others.

Thirdly—A class of people who are deceivers and also deceived, they are those who having themselves faith in the sayings of another induce others to adhere to his doctrines.

Fourthly—Those who by the help of Almighty God are neither deceivers nor deluded.

مباش در پی، آزار و هرچه خواهی کن
که در طریقه ما غیر ازین گناهی نیست

Be not after doing injury to any being, but do whatever you please. For in our way there is no sin except it (viz. injuring others). [Hafiz, Jarrett's ed., Ghazal No. 92.]

These few sentences, short and useful according to the opinion of this humble creature of God, have been written without any regard for the men of prejudice and bigotry, with this hope that the people of sound mind will look to this with eyes of justice. I have left the detail of it to another work of mine entitled

مناظرة الديان *Manazaratul Adyan*,* 'Discussion of Various Religions.' In order to avoid any future change in this book by copyists, I have got these few pages printed just after composition. Let it be known that the pronouncing of words of benediction on prophets, as has been done in this book, is merely an imitation of the custom of the authors of Arabia and Ajam.

* *Manazara* is a work in the form of dialogue in which two or more persons are introduced to discuss a given special subject. [Trans.]

این چند جمله را که مختصر و هم مفید مطلب به اعتقاد این
 فقیر الی الله الغنی است بامید اینکه صاحبان طبع سلیم بنظر اصلاح
 و انصاف ملاحظه فرمایند اعماضاً از نفاق ذری العناد و التعصب
 ترتیب دادم و تفصیل این مقدمات را حواله به مناظره الادیان
 نمودم *

تحفة الموحدين

جهت احتراز از تصرف ناسخین بعد سالها از ابتدای ترتیب
 این اوراق چند الحال آنرا بقالب طبع آوردم - مخفی مباد به شرض از
 استعمال الفاظ مشعر بر استدعای صلوة و سلام صرف تتبع مراسم منقوره
 مصنفین عرب و عجم بود *

را باعث غفران و فیضان معبود تصور میکنند فنی الواقع انها ادعای تصرف بر ذات باری و اظهار اینکه افعال جوارح و خطور قلبی قادر بر تبدیل حالت رب عظیم التغیر است می نمایند - حاشا حرکات مایان موجب رجوع واجب از قهر و اغماض بطرف عفو و التفات میتوان شد تا مل ادنی برای افشای این بدعت ضمیم کفایت (۱) میکنند *

* بیت *

چندین فنون شیخ نیرزد به نیم خس
راحت بدل رسان که همین مشرب ست و بس

الغرض افراد مفهوم خدام و انخداع باعتبار افراد و ترکیب و وجود و عدم به چهار قسم اند - یکی گروه خادعین که قصداً برای رجوع عوام الناس اختراع و ابتداء عقائد ساخته خلایق را مضطرب و متفرق می نمایند - دریم طائفة متخدعین که بلا تفتیش حقیقت حال رجوع بدیگری میکنند - سوم فرقه خادعین و متخدعین که باوجود اعتقاد بدیگری تحریک رجوع بطرف خود می نمایند - چهارم آنانکه بعون الله تعالی نه مصدر خدام نه محل انخداع اند *

س ، ر پی ازار و هرچه خراهی که

که در طریقت مانع ازین کذاهای نیست

ادراک و حواس جدا گانه را بر هر فرد بنی آدم^(۱) و آن بر این معنی است که تتبع قوم خود که خاصه اکثری از حیوانات ست نه نموده در هر باب عقل را در تمیز خیر و شر بامداد مسائل علمیه دخل داده باشد که عطای نعمت عقل از مبدء فیاض عبث متصور نشود^(۲) اینکه 3,603
 ارباب مذهب نظر بر قلت عدد موحیدین افتخار جماعت خود میکنند باید دانست که حقیقت قول موقوف بر کثرت قائل و بطلان روایت بر قلت راری نیست زیرا که * الحق احق بالاتباع و لو کان خلاف الجمهور * نزد طالبان حق مسلم الثبوت است مع هذا در صورت صدق این کای اعنی قلت قائل موجب بطلان قول است فتور عظیم در بنای هر یک مذهب لازم می آید زیرا که در ابتدا سوای راضع آن و چند کس از تابعین همرازش که بر قول همان اشخاص عدید متعدد الغرض بنای هزارها کتب مطول و ادله^(۳) منبسط مثل بنیاد کوهی بر کاهی یافته میشود نبودند - حالانکه رجوع بطرف مبدء مطلق اصل الاصول جمیع ادیان است - کسانیکه الهام مخترع خلق را ترجیح بر رحی^(۴) طبعیتی منجانب خالق که عبارت از قوت تاسی بایکدیگر و عقل ممیز خیر و شر است داده بجای تالیف قلوب خلایق بلا تفریق هیأت و الوان و بدون تجسس عقاید و ادیان که عبادت صافی مقبول خدای خالق طبائع است - اصوات مروضه و حرکات مخصوصه

بنی آدم دال بر این (۱)

نشود و اینکه (۲)

مبسطة (۳)

طبعی (۴)

نیست پس رجوع به شق ثانی باید کرد - اما بر تقدیر (۱) بطلان قول قائل تفتیش در حق و بطلان مذاهب واجب و لازم میگردد و همین غرض ازین قیل و قال و لا و نعم است - دیگر دلیل بعضی از آنها این است که تتبع رسوم و اعتقادات آبا و اجداد بدون تفتیش حق بطلان آن از واجبات و تنفر و اغماض از آن موجب رسوائی دنیا و ربال دینی و در حقیقت ترهین و تفضیم اسلاف است و مغالطه ایشان اثری عظیم بر قلوب خلایق که ارادت و محبت بطرف اجداد بالضرورت میدارند می بخشد و از تجسس مقدمات صادق و اختیار سبیل حق باز میدارد - حالانکه ضعف این کلام باندنی تأمل معلوم خاص و عام میتوان شد زیرا که این مطاعنه ایشان اولاً رجوع بطرف کسانی که مرعده و بانی ادیان جدا گانه شده خلقی را بخود کشیده اند و ثانیاً بسوی آنها که بعد قبول مسائل مقتدای خود انحراف از مسلک بزرگان (۲) مهدی و طریق اسلاف نموده اند میگردد اگر انسان به مجرد نسبت کردن موضوعات خود بطرف باری بری ازین مطاعنه میتواند شد پس این امر محض اختیاری و سهل ترین تدبیرات است در حقیقت ترک مذهب سابق و اختیار دین لاحق که در میان اسلاف جاری بود مشعر بر این است که انتقال از یک ملت بطرف ملت دیگر منجمله رسوم و عادات انسانی است عمده عطا کردن باری قوت

و عزت بزر خود جائز داشته باشند - و قولیکه اکثر از علماء ادیان مختلفه
 برای رسوخ اعتقاد خود متمسک بآن میشوند - این است مذهبهم -
 که خبر از جزای اعمال بعد الممات میدهند خالی از دو حال
 که عبارت از حق و باطل است نخواهد بود - پس بر تقدیر ثانی
 اعنی عدم عاقبت در اذعان و اختیار آن باکی نیست و بر تقدیر
 اول در ترک آن ضرر کلی است - بیچارگان تابع هر یکی ازین اقوام
 قول مقتدا را برهان قاطع دانسته تفاخر میکنند - حقا که عادت و تربیت
 افراد انسان را با وجود چشم کور میسازد ؛ با وصف گوش کر میکند -
 این مغالطه ایشان بدر جهت فاش میشود اولاً قولش اعنی بر تقدیر
 ثانی در اختیار آن باکی نیست غیر مسلم است زیرا که ایمان بحقیقت
 هیچک شیء بعد اعتقاد وجود آن شیء هر فرد از افراد انسان را حاصل
 میشود و اعتقاد وجود ایّ مستبعد العقل و مخالف تجربه در حیز
 اختیار ارباب بصیرت نیست - ثانیاً در صورت اختیار آن از وفور جهل
 و قلت تجربه محل ضرر و تکلیفات لا طائل و صفات ردیه مثلاً تعصب
 و انخداع و غیرهما خواهد شد معیناً بر تقدیر تسلیم دلیل هذا
 حقیقت جمیع ادیان مستفاد می شود زیرا که هر یک اهل مذهب
 را نسبت باین دلیل علی السویه است پس جای حیرانی و محل
 اضطراب است لایا انسان بطرف جمیع ادیان اعتقاد آرد یا از بعضی
 انحراف و به بعضی رجوع نماید - چونکه در عدم امکان شق اول اشتباهی

این همه (۱) قسارت و خدیعت بجناب باری یا تکذیب هر دو روایت یا احدهما بالاتعین مقرر الی الصواب است - و مثلاً جماعتی از مضامین کتب متبرکه خبر ختم نبوت مقتدای خود میدهند و (۲) فریق دیگر روایت اختتام رسالت در ذریت داود علیه السلام منجانب الله میکنند و این روایات در حقیقت اخبار است نه انشاکه ناسخیت و منسوخیت از شان آن توان گفت - زیرا که تصدیق یکی مستلزم تکذیب دیگری³⁶⁰³ میشود و احتمال تحریف در هر دو فریق علی السویه است - قس علی هذا *

طرفه تر آنکه بعد مرور صدها سال از زمان مقتدایان سلف باوجود اظهار خاتمه آنها نایک و غیره لرای دعوت در هند و ممالک دیگر بر افراشته جم غفیر را به تبعیت و اطاعت خود باغوا آورده فائزالمرام شده اند بلکه باب تحصیل مطلب بقالب تلقین مذهب بر روی ناتجربه کاران ظاهر بین تا ابد الابد مفتوح خواهد ماند - هر روز به مشاهده می آید که بامید اندکی احترام (۳) نفع قلیل صدها کس از هر جنس متحمل انواع تکلیفات بدنی اعنی صرم دوام و معطل گذاشتن احد الیدین را از حرکت طبعی و احراق البدن و غیره میشوند پس چه عجب که جهت تحصیل ریاست عامه خلق و مرجعیت عالم شداید و خطرات زمانه را صاحبان عزم و محبان جاه

و فریقی دیگر (۲) این همه احکامات و شریعت بهجناب باری (۱)

احترام و نفع قلیل (۳)

برین تقدیر لازم آید که قوم براهمه روایت از خدای عز و جل میکنند که ایشانرا امر موبد برای ایفای مراسم و اعتقاد طریقه این گروه تا ابد آلاباد از جناب باری حاصل است - چنانچه اکثر اقوال که ایشان درین باب منسوب بطرف باری می نمایند و در زبان سنسکرت متداول و پیاد این کمترین خلائق که به سبب ولادت دران قوم درس آن زبان نموده موجود است - و این قوم بزعم خود اعتماد بر امر آلهی نموده باوجود تحمل تکلیفات شدید بلکه تهدید قتل از اهل اسلام ترک اعتقاد براهمه نمی کنند و اهل اسلام بر مقتضای آیات کریمه فاقتلوا المشرکین حیث رجعتوهم - و (۱) شدوا الوثاق فاما منا بعد و اما فداء - راری از جناب باری هستند که قتل یا ایدای مشرکان که شدید ترین آنها باعتقاد اهل اسلام فریق براهمه هستند در هر حال واجب و متعتم است - بناء علیه اهل اسلام از روی حمیت دینی و تعمیل امر امر مطلق در قتل و ایدای مشرکین و منکرین رسالت خاتم النبیین رحمة للعالمین صلوة الله علیه و علی اصحابه المتادیین - چه در زمان سلف چه در زمان حال بقدر طاقت دریغ نکرده اند ایا این همه اوامر (۲) مفسده متخالفه را از حکمت و ترحم مبدء فیاض بی نیاز باید گفت یا از شان (۳) اشد الخادعین باید شمرد - غالب است که عقل در اختیار شق ثانی تردد نخواهد کرد - پس کدام ازین هر دو اعنی اسناد

با جناب باری موقوف بر اسباب ظاهر اعنی رضع راضع است و انبیا و غیرهم را تخصیص در توسل به تبلیغ و تلتین عقاید موضوعه نمی توان داد - حالانکه امریکه یک قوم آن را تاویل بهدایت می نمایند دیگری ادعای اضلال آن میدارند *

بعضی ازین ها رجوع به حجت عقلی میکنند که از تخالف احکام ادیان جداگانه بطلان هیچک دین نهیگردد بلکه بر ارضاع حکام حال و سلف که برعایت احوال زمانه تبدیل و تنسیخ احکام سابق ساخته قواعد جدید جاری می نمایند و باوجود ناسخیت یکی و منسوخیت دیگری جمهور خلایق جمیع احکام را حق و صادر از حاکم میدانند - قیاس باید کرد که همه ادیان بازمانده جداگانه بر حق و از (۱) مشیت خالق مطلق است و نیز منسوخیت سابق و ناسخیت لاحق از تقدیر ایزدی است انتهای نلامه - قیاس کردن حکومت مبداء حقیقی را که به اعتقاد اهل ادیان عالم بحال هر مثنقال ذره و واقعات خفی و جلی ازمنه ثلثه و مقلب قلوب خلایق و مسبب اسباب (۲) ظاهر و مقدس از غرض و منزله از تلون است بر حکومت بشر که فی الحقیقت صاحب عقل قاصر و مغنلط بوهم و عاجز از ادراک مآل کار و مزایب از سهو و خطا و جاه غرض و خدام و ریا است ایا قیاس مع الفارق نیست؟ قطع نظر ازین دیگر قباحت عظمی

میگرد مثلاً خبر تسخیر سکندر رومی بلاد چین را و قول ولادتش
مختلف فیه درمیان مورخین یونان و پارس است لهذا نزد هیچک
(۱) از ارباب تاریخ ثابت و مسلم نیست قس علی هذا *

دستاورز جماعتی این است نه مبدء منعم بتوسل انبیا و
مقتدایان مذهب فیض هدایت را بحال ممکنات جاری می نماید
اما سخافت این قول از غایت ظهور محتاج به بیان نیست زیرا که
همان جماعت ایجاد جمیع خیر و شر ممکنات را منسوب بلا فصل
بطرف مبدء حقیقی نموده - اسباب ظاهر اشیاء ممکنه را وسائط و
شرائط آن میدانند - پس کلام در بعث انبیا که از امور خارجی است
باید کرد که احداث ذوات انبیا و تبلیغ وحی از طرف جناب باری
بلا رسائل ظاهرست یا نه - در صورت شق اول کلام ایشان اعنی
(۲) بر امر خارجی که بتوسل اسباب ظاهر بوجود می آید باطل میشود
و ضرورت هدایت از مبدء کائنات بتوسل انبیا باقی نمی ماند - (۳) در صورت
شق ثانی اعنی (۴) احداث انبیا و تبلیغ وحی بلا سبب ظاهر نیست
هرآئینه ضرورت داعی است که سبب درم را برای وجود آن سبب
اول (۵) بعثت نبی تسلیم نموده شود - و برای وجود سبب درم سبب
(۶) سوم و برای (۶) سوم چهارم را الی غیر نهایت ضم باید کرد پس (۵) بعثت
انبیا و تبلیغ وحی مثل دیگر امور خارجی بلا خصوصیت نسبت

و در صورت (۳) هر امر خارجی (۲) هیچک ارباب (۱)
بعث نبی (۵) اعنی ارسال انبیا (۴) سیوم (۶)

دخل بی معنی اعنی کسانیکه تصدیق احوال سلاطین سلف بلحاظ
 آنکه در کتب تواریخ مندرج و از خبر تواتر حاصل است کرده باشند
 بکدام انصاف انکار از واقعات خارق عادت بزرگان دین که از کتب
 سلف و از تواتر جمهور متحقق است می نمایند - و آنانکه باوجود
 اختلاف الوان و اوضاع اولاد و خفاء حقیقت حال به مجرد خبر
 تواتر اعتماد بر خصوصیت نسب نموده اند چگونه در تسلیم کرامت
 و عظمت شان مجتهدان سابق که از همان تواتر یافته شده است
 تردد میکنند مستنبط می شود - زیراکه احوال قابل تسلیم سلاطین سلف
 مثلاً جلوس بر مسند سلطنت و مخاصمت با اعدا و غیرهما از
 قبیل حالات مهمی و متفق علیه است - و واقعات خرق عادت کلمه
 مختلف فیه و از اشد غرائب و عجائب و ولادت افراد انواع حیوانات
 از ابا و امهات خاص امر محسوس است و تولید اطفال بلا وسائل
 متعارف امری است که عقل از قبول آن فرسنگها میگریزد »

بع بین تفاوت ره از کجاست تا بجای

علاوه امر نسب و تقص سلاطین سلف از مسائل ظنیات است
 و اعتقادات دینی باعتقاد ارباب دین از یقینیات است پس قیاس
 یکی بر دیگری صریح قیاس مع الفارق است - مع هذا هرگاه شائبه
 اختلاف در میان واقعات بادشاهان سلف و تعیین امر نسب رو میدهد
 فی الفور آن خبر از پایه هزم ساقط و از دائره اعتبار خارج

طائفة اول که منشاء خبر فتوحات مقتدی (۱) اول هر مذهب اند از طائفة دوم که معاصرین ایشان بودند ثابت است پس برای ثبوت صدق طائفة دوم طائفة سوم معاصر ایشان ضم باید نمود زیرا که تصدیق کلام طائفة دوم هم محتاج بدلیل است علی هذا القیاس جهت صادقیت طائفة سوم طائفة چهارم را دخل باید داد هلم جرأ تا ثبوت بآن طائفة که فی زماننا موجود اند خواهد رسید و آینده هم این سلسله جاری خواهد بود - ظاهر است که عقل سلیم را در احتساب طائفة موجود الحال ازان قوم که احتمال کذب بطرف آنها نیست خصوصاً در امر دین - ترددها است - مع هذا تناقض صریح در ایجاب و سلب ثبوت و صفات حسنة مقتدایان جداگانه که منشايش همین تواتر است در میان اکثر اهل مذاهب یافته میشود - در صورت فرض صدق اخبار مسلمة هر فریق اجتماع نقیضین لازم می آید و تفصیل خبر بعضی از آنها بر خبر دیگری بلا ثبوت وجه فضیلت ترجیح بلا مرجع میشود - زیرا که علی السویه هر فریق را امکان ادعای فضیلت و اظهار صدق مقال اسلاف و اجداد خود است - فی الواقع تواتر به معنی وصول خبر مقبول العقل از یک قوم که احدی (۲) مخالف با ایشان در تصدیق آن خبر نمیکند فائدة یقین می بخشد - لیکن تواتر باین معنی را با اخبار متخالف و بعید القیاس چه نسبت خواهد بود - ازینجا دفع هر دو

میان برخاسته بنیاد ترکیب قیاس و دلائل عقلیه از پا می افتد - حالانکه
عدم قدرت باری بر ایجاد امور محال مثلاً شرکت یا استهلاک باری
و اجتماع نقیضین و غیره مسلم الثبوت ذری الغراست است *

جنگ هفتاد و در ملت همه را عذر (۱) پندیر

چون ندیدند حقیقت ره افسانه زدند

از آنجاکه به سبب مباعدت زمان در اثبات عظمت شان حالات
فوق طاقت (۲) بشریه مقتدیان سلف امم جداگانه حس را که (۳) مع وجود
شرائط مفید یقین است دخل نمی تواند داد - لهذا خواص ایشان
اعتماد بر وثوق اعتقاد مقلدین خود نموده متمسک به مفهوم
تواتر بقالبیکه ظاهراً موصول بمطلب ایشان میتوان شد شده اند - حالانکه
بازدک تامل در حقیقت مفهوم تواتر مفید الیقین و تواتر مبتدع
اهل ملل حجاب (۴) مغلط از میان برداشته میشود - زیرا که بقول ارباب
دین تواتر عبارت از وصول خبر از گروهی که احتمال کذب در شان
انها نباشد هست - لیکن علم بوجود هیچک گروه از ایشان در زمان
سلف که گمان کذب بطرف آنها غیر ممکن است نزد ارباب زمان
حال منتج از حس و تجربه نیست - بلکه در کمال خفا و اشتباه است
علاوه اختلاف فاحش در روایت پیشینان هر مذهب فی الجمله دلالت
بر عدم صدق اقوال اسلاف ایشان میکند - اگر گفته شود که صدق قول

و دیگری را علت میدانند - و عند التفتیش در سر امثال این امور که (۱) عقل از قبول آن می ایستد (۲) پرده داران ادیان جهت تسکین و تشفی معتقدان خود (۳) گاهی میگویند که در کار خانه دین عقل و دلیل عقلی را دخلی نیست و امور دینی تعلق از اعتقاد و ترفیق منجانب الله میدارد - پس امری که خالی از دلیل و مخالف عقل است می مقبول و مسلم ذوی العقل میتواند شد - فاعتبروا یا اولی الابصار - گاهی از غایت تبهر بدلیل می پردازند که بعید از قدرت آن خالق که ماهیات را از نقاب عدم محضی بعالم وجود آورده باشد نیست که قالب های (۴) امورات را رخت حیات مجدداً بپوشاند - و اجسام خاکی را در طی مسافت خواص نور و طاقت هوا بخشد - درین محل کلام مدعی اعنی (بعید از قدرت الی آخره) مشعر بر جواز است نه موجب یقین - حالانکه مطلب ایشان اثبات معجزات و کرامات مقتدایان سابق و مجتهدان لاحق است - پس عدم اتمام تقریب نزد ارباب بصیرت متخفی نخواهد بود *

معهدا در صورت تسلیم این مقدمه باب منع در مناظره مسدود و جواز انکار در اخبار بالکل معدوم میگردد - زیرا که هر یک را در ادعای ثبوت حالات ممتنع الوجود و مستبعد العقل عند المناظره همین دلیل کفایت میتواند کرد - پس فرق درمیان (۵) مفاهیم امکان و امتناع از

که بظاهر عقل (۱)

می ایستد سرداران ادیان (۲)

تشفی بعضی معتقدان (۳)

امورات (۴)

مفاهیم (۵)

ظاهر بعید از حوصله بشری معلوم میشود لیکن بعد دقت نظر یا تعلیم دیگری سبب هر یکی ازان هویدا و تشفی خاطر ناظرین ازان میگردد - و همین قدر (۱) استقرار جهت حفاظت ذری العقول از تصرف قائلان خرق عادت کافی می تواند شد - غایت الباب این است که در بعض محال باوجود تدقیق و تفحص حال کما ینبغی علت بعض شیء غریب نزد جمعی منکشف نمی شود - پس رجوع بوجدان و سوال بخود باید نمود که کدام ازین هر دو اعنی اعتراف ببعجز خود در ادراک و تعیین اسباب هیچک شیء یا اذعان بوجدان بعض اشیاء غیر ممکن به مخالفت عادت خلقت مقبول ذهن و قریب الی الصواب است - و غالب است که حکم به اولویت اول خواهد نمود - مع هذا کدام ضرورت داعی است که تصدیق امور مخالف (۲) قیاس و غیر محسوس اعنی احیاء اموات و عروج بر فلک و غیره (۳) که بزعم ایشان صدها سال ازان تجاوز کرده است نموده شود *

هر چند هر فرد از خواص و عوام در امور دنیوی بلادک تعلق خاص در میان سبب و مسبب حکم به سببیت یکی و مسببیت دیگری نمیکند - مگر در هر امر که قدم دین و نام معتقدات در میان است مثلاً دفع بلیه از نتیجه ادعیه و حصول شفا بقوت دعا و غیره بدون تردد و استادگی باوجود عدم مناسبت طرفین یکی را معلول

(۱) آن مفهوم بطرف خود و آزدیاد عقیدت عوام الناس رضع نموده اند -
 و شان مردمان مغلوب الوهم این است که امری را که ایجاد آن
 بعید از حوصله خود و در بادی الرای بلا سبب ظاهر می یابند
 محمول (۲) بر خرق عادت می نمایند * سر راجب الفکر درین باب این
 است که درین عالم اسباب وجود هر شی موقوف بر علل ظاهر و
 شرائط و (۳) معدلت جداگانه است - حتی اگر لحاظ اسباب بعیده و قریبه
 و (۴) معدلت و موانع هر شی گماهی نموده شود تعلق یک عالم من
 وجه در وجود آن شی یافته خواهد شد - لیکن هرگاه از قات تجربه
 و غلبه وهم سبب وجود هیچک شی نادر الوقوع بر احدی مخفی
 میشوند - اکثر اوقات دیگری فرصت تحصیل مطالب خود یافته وجود
 آن شی را منسوب بخود نموده خود را خارق عادت و راجب الاطاعت
 قرار میدهد - بلکه فی زماننا نوبت ادعای مقدمات خرق عادت
 در دیار هند باین مرتبه رسیده که عوام کلهم و جم غفیر از خواص در
 مقامیکه وجود امر غریب را منسوب بطرف مقتدایان سلف یا بزرگان
 حال خود میتوانند کرد با وصف صراحت وجود علل آن امر انکار
 از اثر اسباب ظاهر خواهند نمود - اما نزد صاحبان ذهن سلیم و معبان
 انصاف پوشیده نیست که اکثر امروز به سبب عدم اطلاع بر کنه
 آن مثلاً صنعت اهل فرنگ و دست بردی حقه بازان اولاً بلا سبب

اسناد آن ادیان بطرف (۱)

شرائط و اسباب جداگانه (۳)

محمول بران خرق (۲)

و موجب است (۴)

که نتیجه تربیت و عادت است و عقیده اجمالی بذات مبدأ که انسان را ازان گزیر نیست نمی (۱) کند حتی که از غلبه عادت و اغماض از تفتیش حقیقت و مناسبت در میان علت و معلول غسل نهر و زیارت شجر و حجر و عمل (۲) توبه و شرای عفو جرائم را از مجتهد وقت خود علی اختلاف الادیان موجب تنزه از لوث و تزکیه از اثم مدت العمر گمان می برند - و این تطهیر و تدریه را از آثار اشیای معتقد الیه و رشد و کرامت مجتهد بلا دخل و هم و اعتقاد خود می شمردند - عجب اینکه بدیگر فریق مخالف (۳) الاعتقاد هیچک اثر برین منوال محسوس نمی شود در صورتیکه حقیقتی برای این همه تاثیرات موهومی می بود هر آئینه بر اعتقاد و عادت یک قرم خاص موقوف نه بوده متسامری الحال با جمیع اهل ملل میشد زیرا که شدت یا ضعف تاثیرات اشیاء (۴) هر چند تعلق با استعداد متاثر و منفعّل میدارد - اما موقوف بر اعتقاد (۵) معتقد که محض امر موهوم است نخواهد بود * ایا نمی بینید که سمیت زهر با وجود گمان حلوا بیشتر سبب هلاکت و زوال مباشر الاکل میگردد - اللهم اعطنی القوة الراسخة فی امتیاز العادة عن الطبیعة *

مرکزهای دوائر ادیان یک مفهوم خرق عادت را جهت اسناد

مخالف الاعتقاد شان (۳) عمل نروب (۲) نمی کنند (۱)

معتقدیکه محض بر امر موهوم (۵) تاثیرات اشیاء که در اصل تعلق (۴)

مکرره و محروم از سعادت میداند - حالانکه ظاهر و هریدا است که
 (۱) ادراک نعم سماری اعنی ضیای کواکب و لطانت ایام ربیع و ترشح
 مطر و صحت بدن و ترفیة معاش و حسن ظاهر و باطن و غیره - و نیز
 در ابتلای آلام مثلاً توحش ظلمت و شدت برون و مرض نفسانی
 و عسرت حال و قبح صوری و معنوی هر یکی بلا خصوصیت مذهب
 و رعایت دین زندگانی به مساوات دیگری میکند *

اگرچه هر فرد انسان را بدین هدایت و تلقین دیگری بعد
 احساس و تأمل در سرکون و فساد عالم و ارضاع جداگانه در بقای
 انواع و تعیین زمان نوری نباتات مختلفه و تشخیص کواکب ثوابت
 و سیاره و تقرر شفقت در بواطن حیوانات بحال اطفال بلا چشم
 داشت معارضت و انضباط حالات نور و رتوف و نهول هر یک از
 موالید ثلثه استعداد رجوع علی الاجمال بطرف ذات منتظم عالم
 است * اما مخفی (۲) مباد که هر یکی به تبعیت و اقتدای یک (۳) قوم
 که درمیان آنها معاش داشته باشد اعتراف به الهییت خاص و فرورع
 ملتزمه آن دین می نماید * چنانچه بعضی قائل خدای متصف
 به صفات انسانی اعنی قهر و رحم و نفرت و محبت - و برخی معتقد
 رجوع محیط منبسط - و جمعی راجع بدهر یا طبیعت - و گروهی مقرر
 به معبودیت اعظم مخلوقات هستند - و فرق درمیان اعتقادات لاحقه

سبحان الله باوجود این همه گرمی دوزان ارشاد مجتهدین و تصرف مکلفین در ماهیت انسان استعداد فطری چنان متحقق است که در صورتیکه احدی صاحب ذهن سلیم قبل اختیار مذهب یا بعد قبول آن بلا پاسداری بحقائق اصول و فروع مسائل متقرره اقوام مختلف به نظر انصاف تفتیشی نماید رجای رائق است که قادر بر تمیز حق از باطل و مقدمات صواب از اخبار کواذب خواهد شد و نیز از قیود عبث که منشای تعصب یکی بر دیگری و سبب اذیت بدنی و فتنه عقلی (۱) است نجات یافته رجوع (۲) اثیر بطرف وجود منبع الجود مبداء نظام و التفات بصلاح جمهور انام خواهد نمود من یهدی الله فلا مضل له و من یضلل الله فلا هادی له *

باید دید که ادعای هر (۳) یک طائفه از ارباب ملل این است که ماهیت انسان را خالق حقیقی برای ادای لوازم معاش و معاد به تتبع عقائد آن فریق خاص آفریده است - و اهل مذاهب دیگر که مبیانیت با ایشان در امور دینی میدارند مستحق آلام عاقبت و عذاب آخرت هستند - (۴) چونکه هر طائفه حسن نتائج اعمال خود و قبض ثمره افعال غیر را حواله بحیات بعد الممات می (۵) نماید لا جرم احدی که طاقت ابطال ادعای دیگری فی الحال نداشته (۶) صرف تخم تعصب و نفاق در قلوب خود بجای خلوص و صفا کاشته دیگری را

هریک The old edition omits (۳) نیز (۲) می باشد (۱)

ضروره نغم (۶) می نمایند (۵) ۱ چونس طائفه (۴)

هر چند درین محل جای انکار نیست که قوت تمدن انسان مقتضی آن است که افراد این نوع باهم معاش و تدبیر منازل بر سبیل دوام نموده (۱) باشند چونکه تمدن موقوف بر تفهیم و تفهم مطالب یکدیگر و بر قواعد چند که امتیاز املاک یکی از دیگری و دفع ایذای احدی بر احدی ازان متصور باشد هست * بناءً علیه متوطنین جمیع ممالک بلکه ساکنین جزایر بعیده و جبال شاهقه بقدر استعداد و حوصله خود رضع الفاظ که مشعر بر معانی و اختراع ادیان که منطاط انتظام عالم فی الحال بران است نموده اند و در حالیکه بنای تقرر ادیان بر تصدیق وجود ارواح که تعریفش جوهر مدبّر بدن مقرر نموده اند و بر ثبوت عالم عقبی که آن را موضع ادراک جزای اعمال خیر و شر دنیا بعد مفارقت روح از بدن قرار میدهند هست - پس ایشان در تعلیم و تسلیم وجود ارواح و دار آخرت باوجود خفای حقیقت حال آن هر دو نظر بر مصلحت عوام الناس که محض از خوف عذاب عاقبت و سیاست حکام خود را از ارتکاب منهیات باز میدارند معذور خواهند شد - لیکن در ذیل این هر دو اعتقاد واجب الانقیاد صدها تکالیف لا طائل در باب اکل و شرب و نجس و طهارت و سعد و نحس و غیره الحاق نموده بجای اصلاح احوال عالم سبب تخیل در معاش و هرج در تمدن و موجب انتشار حواس خلاق میشوند *

از قوت ذهن و طاقت علمی بامید عروج بر مدارج شرف اجتهاد جهت رسوخ عقاید مدونه ملت خود کمر همت در اختراع دلائل عقلی و نقلی می بندد و مقلدان آن طریق که همواره در بطور ترجیح دین خود می خراهند - بقول اینکه ”دیوانه را هرئی بس است“ - آن مخترعات ملامه را دست آویز مباحثه ساخته افتخار مذهب خود و هتک (۱) ادیان دیگر می کنند - اگر احياناً احدی از قلت مآل اندیشی سوالی یا حرفی مخالف اجتهاد و مبائن اعتقاد مذهب خود بر زبان راند معاصران متحد المذهب از بشرط قدرت کار آن ناتجربه کار را بزبان سنان و در صورت عدم اقتدار (۲) استهلاک بسنان زبان حواله میکنند - و نوبت تصرف متبوعین و (۳) حالات اطاعت تابعین ایشان باین مرتبه رسیده که گروهی سنگبیزها و جمعی نباتات و حیوانات را اعتماداً بر اقوال مقتدایان خود معبود محض دانسته در ممانعت (۴) اقدام و توهین شانش خونریزی و جان دادن را باعث سرخ روی دنیا و راحت عقبی می انگارند - و طرفه تر آن ست که مجتهدان ایشان نیز پرده عدل و اتقا را از میان برداشته (۵) علی سنی علمای مذاهب دیگر جمله چند بقالب دلیل عقلی در ثبوت عقائد صریح البطلان خود ایجاد نموده باعث رضانت اعتقاد عوام محروم البصارت میشوند - نعوذ بالله من شرور انفسنا و من سیئات اعمالنا *

که هم مذموم عقبنی و هم مفسد عام است باعث نجات از معصیت دانسته اوقات عدیم البدل را در تذکره قصص و حکایات مستبعد العقل که موجب کثرت عقیدت بطرف معتقدایان سابق و مجتهدان حال ایشان میشود صرف (۱) نمایند - و اگر از اتفاقات طبع سلیم بعضی از اینها در تفحص حقیقت عقائد ملتزمه خود میلی نماید باز بر سبیل عادت ارباب ملل آن کس این میلان را از وسوسه شیطانی و سبب وبال دنیوی و دینی دانسته فوراً اران وادی عطف عنان میشود - الحق هر فرد را به سبب درام استماع حالات غریب و غیر ممکن (۲) الوقوع بزرگان سلف خود و مدائح حسن نتایج عقاید مسلمة آن طائفه که ولادت و تربیت در میان آنها یافته از السنه اقارب و جیران در آران قبل بلوغ که قوت تاخذ و انفعال دران بیشتر است ادعان رثیق در تصدیق مقدمات دینی بمرتبه حاصل میشود که آن طریق مختار را باوجود ظهور بطلان اکثر مسائلش بر جمیع ادیان دیگر ترجیح داده از مواظبت ارکان آن هر روز الفقی و اعتقادی تازه بطرف آن طریق بهم میرساند - پس ظاهر است که بعد اختیار یک مذهب خاص باین تشدد و استحکام ذهن سلیم احدی مع علوم اکتسابیه در زمان ادراک بلوغ هم بلا قصد تفحص صدق و کذب مسلمات چندین سال در اظهار حق کافی نمی تواند شد - بلکه آن کس

خوشا اوقات کسانی که قصد (۱) تمیز حالات که در اشخاص از عادت و کثرت مرانست حاصل است و تفریق صفات که مقتضیات فطرت نوعی و مزاج شخصی است میدارند - و در تفتیش حق و بطلان مقدمات مختلفه اهل مذاهب شتی بلا طرف احدی بلکه در مسائل مسلم الثبوت جمهور بدون رعایت من قال بقدر طاقت سعی مینمایند - زیرا که ادراک حقائق اشیئی مختلفه الحوائج و علم مدارج اعمال خفی النتائج که جزو اعظم کمال انسانی است بذات خود در شدت احتجاب و عسیر محض است - مع هذا اکثری از معتدایان ادیان جداگانه جهت ابقای نام و استزاد عزت چند عقائد خاص را موضوع و بادعای خرق عادت یا بقوت لسانی و تدبیرات مناسب حال معاشین بصورت حق بحت ظاهر ساخته - جمعی از انسان را نوعی بخود مائل نموده اند که بیچارگان پابند اطاعت و انقیاد دیده و دل بصیرت را یک قلم باخته در تعمیل احکام مقتدای خود تفریق حسنات حقیقی را از سیئات واقعی منجمله سیئات میدانند و بمراءات ملت و پاس دین قتل و غضب و ایذای دیگری را باوجود اینکه متحد الحقیقت و فروع یک اصل هستند ثواب عظیم می شمارند - و عتیدت صافی بذات مقتدا (۲) را با وصف ارتکاب بر افعال الله الرذائل اعفی کذب و خیانت و سرقه و زنا و غیره

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ⑤

سرت فى اقضاء الارض سهلاً و جبلاً و وجدت الساكنين فيها
مترافقين فى الاعتراف بذات مبدأ الكائنات و مدبرها على الاجمال
و متخالفين فى خصوصية شانه و انحاء العقائد من اصول الاديان
و من مسائل الحرام و الحلال - فحصل لى بهذا الاستقراء ان الرجوع
عموماً الى الوجود الواجب مثل امر طبعى مشترك فى الافراد على
السوية * و ميلان كل فريق منهم الى (١) الله او آلهة بارصاف مخصصة
و الى ما هو يناسبها من العبادات و المعاملات صفة الحققة من
العبادات و التربية * و اين الطبعة من العادات - بعضهم (٢) ليستعد فى
ابطال عقيدة بعض للتناقض بينهما بادعاء صدق اقوال الاسلاف و هم
كسائر الناس معارض الخطاء و الاثم و الخلاف فلا يخلو ان يقال لن
كلهم صادق او لا ففى الصورة الاولى يلزم اجتماع النقيضين * و فى
الثانية لا يخلو ان يقال ان الكذب دائر بين بعضهم بتعيين او
بلاعيين - ففى التقدير الاول يلزم الترجيح بلا مرجح * فبقى ان
الكذب دائر بينهم بلاعيين * * شرحت هذا فى الفارسية لانها قريبة
لى اذهان العجم * .

